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THE Lutheran Quarterly

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THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY

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Editor
CONRAD BERGENDOFF
Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois

Managing Editor
THEODORE S. LIEFELD
Capital University Seminary, Columbus, Ohio

Book Editor
THEODORE G. TAPPERT
7333 Germantown Road, Philadelphia 19, Pennsylvania

Circulation Manager
PAUL M. LINDBERG
Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois

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AIMS AND POLICY

I. *Aims:* The aims of this quarterly shall be to provide a forum (1) for the discussion of Christian faith and life on the basis of the Lutheran confession, (2) for the application of the principles of the Lutheran Church to the changing problems of religion and society, (3) for the fostering of world Lutheranism, and (4) for the promotion of understanding between Lutherans and other Christians.

II. *Policy:* The editors will welcome contributions that are likely to be helpful in the furtherance of the aims set forth above. It will be required of such contributions that they be frank and fair in their discussion of moot questions; that they be free from controversial animus; and that their contents be of real scholarly and practical value to the readers. Difference of opinion between contributors, or between a contributor and the editors, does not of itself exclude articles from publication since the editors do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions of contributors.

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State and Church—
The Lutheran View[1]

EIVIND BERGGRAV

WE LUTHERANS are not tied down by the past. But we should learn from it and be inspired by it. In asserting that we are not bound by the past, I do not include Holy Scripture among the things of the past; on the contrary, the Bible is our ever up-to-date and contemporary source of faith and life.

With respect to the relation between church and state we Lutherans face two questions today. The one question is suggested by the past; the other, by the present situation and by trends indicating future developments.

The one question is this: Where do the Lutherans draw the line between proper obedience to those in authority and reprehensible, unbiblical, slavish submission?

The other question is this: Is it possible to harmonize the modern welfare state with the Lutheran teaching concerning the two regimes? What should be the church's attitude toward the welfare state?

I

In discussing the first question we will have to admit at the outset that our Church has often failed to give the right answer. Too often the Church was used merely as a tool for the maintenance of the status quo or for the support of whoever happened to be in power; for instance in periods of revolution, when governments changed. In days when all was quiet, the underlying theory was stated by the Lutheran Thiersch in these words: "Even

1 This address, by the primate of the Norwegian Church, was delivered at the Lutheran World Federation Assembly at Hannover this past summer. The English translation is by Dr. J. Bodensieck.

a tyrant must be regarded as government once he has come into the possession of power" (1873); and in Oehmke's *Die fuenf Hauptstuecke des lutherischen Katechismus* (Gotha, 1891) we read, in connection with an exposition of Romans 13, the following words, "It is true, then, that cruel and despotic rulers, revolutionists, and wild conquerors come from God? Answer: Yes, indeed! Like sickness, hail storms, wars, and conflagrations, so also godless rulers come from God" (page 89).

It is a positively frightful misreprsentation of Lutheran doctrine to assert that "wild conquerors" or "despotic revolutionists" should be acknowledged as the God-appointed rulers as soon as they have "come into the possession of power." It is high time that such views be plainly labeled as heretical.

The Lutheran teaching concerning the relation between state and Church—as set forth in the Augsburg Confession—presupposes that the "state" is lawful state. Luther himself used perfectly unambiguous language in speaking about lawless tyranny. The Lutheran principle, stated briefly, is: Without law, there is no government.

The doctrine of the "two regimes" which has proved to be a good guide till the present day, assumes that both regimes—not only the spiritual, but also the secular—are under God, and that in the last analysis both of them should represent God. This, however, is obviously not the case when those in authority trample upon the Law of God. According to the Lutheran doctrine it is not true that every usurper, every possessor of power is really "government." We must distinguish between government and the person who possesses the governmental power. It is true, of course, that the Bible uses the word "sword" as a figurative expression for government, but never for naked, unrestricted power; the sword is an instrument of the law.

In opposition to Thiersch and others we ought to be perfectly clear on this point: a government must be judged and evaluated both with reference to its *origin* and its *practice*. The criterion of judgment is, above all, its lawfulness. Government of the right

kind stands under the law, and it practices justice. A "lawless government," according to the Lutheran view, is self-contradictory.

So far everything is perfectly clear. It must be admitted, however, that we have no such clear directives when the manner in which the present rulers did come into the possession of power is in question—for instance, when a revolution has occurred. We can only answer, in a general way: on the one hand, Lutheran doctrine in practice supports the government; but on the other hand, in principle it is revolutionary in that it no longer recognizes a government that has become tyrannical and lawless.

Luther knew that instances might occur where Christians would have to refuse to obey the orders of their government; but this matter was never thoroughly studied within Lutheranism. The Huguenots are the only group who issued specific instructions in this regard, and they were driven to do so by their own peculiar circumstances.

Luther provided no detailed road maps, but he erected several beacons which cast light upon this area. One of these beacons declares: When a government becomes lawless and acts with arbitrary despotism, the result is a demonic condition, that is to say, the government is godless. To obey such a satanic government would be nothing short of sinful. Here the text, Acts 5:29, significantly quoted by the Augsburg Confession, applies: "We ought to obey God rather than men." In circumstances of this kind, we have, as a matter of principle, the right to rebel (German: *Aufruhr*), in one form or another. Otherwise Lutheranism would be forced to concede that it has not found an answer for these problems and that it has to leave the Christian in a state of tension between Romans 13 and Acts 5.

Much evil has been caused by misinterpretations and misuse of Romans 13. These misinterpretations have brought about much misery and much disgraceful servileness.

Paul was a citizen of the Roman Empire and was conscious of his rights as such. He belonged to that group of society in which Cicero's ideas were still respected: "Government is vocal law; law is silent government." In Paul's thinking the law occupies the place

between the individual citizen and his government. Paul insists that he himself be treated accordingly. He ascribes sovereignty, or supreme authority, not to the state but to the law. In fact, wherever Paul uses the word *exousia,* we should not translate "government" or "power" (German: *Obrigkeit*) but "law." Instead of reading, "Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God" we ought to read, "Whosoever resisteth the law, resisteth the ordinance of God."

This first beacon light of Lutheranism gives a signal which blinks three times in succession in the Augsburg Confession: The government must be *de iure;* right is above might; the law is above the state.

The second beacon sheds light on the road that we have to go. It is well known that Luther rejected the idea that the Church as such should ever use forcible means against the government. The Church's purpose, he said, is to preach the Gospel and, in case of necessity, to suffer martyrdom. This means, on the one hand, that the Church must not organize or conduct revolutions, not even against a tyrant. But on the other hand, it also means positively that the Church has the sacred duty, come what may, fearlessly to proclaim to the unjust ruler the unvarnished truth set forth in the Gospel and the Law. The Church is no institute of edification where one is safe from all danger. In this world of despotism and injustice, the Lutheran Church will always be exposed to danger or else it will cease to be a Christian church. Whoever says nothing about Christ the Judge, has nothing to say about Christ the Savior. All this is perfectly plain; our road is well marked.

But there is an area, a sort of borderland, and there one's conscience will have to decide the issue. Here is where we often face the problems: How far may we go in cooperating with those in authority? Where is the boundary line?

Before proceeding we must add a thought which is implied in our Lutheran teaching: We ought not make demands upon the secular state which could be fulfilled only if it were an *ideal* Christian state. Secular government, by its very nature, is *secular.*

Even when a government commits an error, it still remains government in the right sense of the word. The Church does not compromise when it declares that Christians must tolerate many things which are not Christian, and that they must perform some functions which do not agree with the ideals set forth in the Gospel. The Church has the duty, not only passively to tolerate—*nota bene,* only within the limits set by the Word of God and if necessary under protest—but also actively to cooperate with the government even when it has committed an error, and to promote a sense of loyalty to the government among the people. These are the positive demands made in Romans 13 upon the Christian citizen.

In passing we wish to warn Christians against allowing their attitude of suffering to blossom forth into a secret superiority feeling. On the contrary, our attitude indicates that we recognize the existence of original sin within our own selves. In all humility we must admit that the mere fact that we are Christians gives us neither superior insight, nor superior ability, in the field of politics. We are bound together with our fellow citizens, for better or for worse. But there are instances when it becomes impossible for a Christian citizen to cooperate with his government without violating his allegiance to God.

In instances of this nature it will occur only rarely that all Christians know at once that the limit has been reached and that the time for decisive action has come. It is both an element of weakness and strength in our Lutheran Church that we are called upon to let our own conscience decide the issue. The strength of this position is the personal conviction of the individual believers: they have a firm rock on which to stand. The weakness is first, that the individual believers may begin to waver, and second, that their opinions may differ very greatly and that their fellowship may be disrupted. It should be emphasized that according to Lutheran thinking, our conscience is by no means identical with our own personal subjective notions. Our conscience must be "under God," i.e., it must be guided by the Word of God, but also to a certain extent, at least, by the collective judgment of the communion of saints. It is always a cause for serious concern when

brethren have conflicting convictions on vital questions; we should not lightly dismiss such a situation, and we must always guard against self-assurance. What we all need to do in such cases is to pray fervently and to submit humbly to the will of God.

Opportunistic tendencies, which may assert themselves in certain areas of the Church, must under no circumstances be allowed to influence our basic decisions. Regimentation from above (German: *Gleichschaltung*) has no place in the Lutheran Church, nor is there room for any "tactical" unanimity adroitly promoted by artifice and trickery. All we can do is to acknowledge the fact that—fortunately and unfortunately—we Lutherans are a "many-headed" group of people.

Special difficulties arise when the actions and avowed aims of those in authority appear to be justifiable, but their motives do not seem to be above suspicion. In the past years we were often criticized because we were filled with suspicions over against the Nazis; we were told that it was unchristian to harbor such suspicions. But as Christians we cannot escape the duty of discerning the motives behind the actions, of exposing the trickery of God's arch enemy. Gullible stupidity is neither Christian nor Lutheran. To put the best construction on everything does not mean to ignore things which obviously are fraud and deception. As responsible citizens we Christians are in duty bound to think about political matters and to act according to our convictions. The Augsburg Confession presupposes this.

An example: When Hitler, on June 22, 1941, suddenly invaded Soviet Russia, his propaganda chiefs at once unfurled the Christian crusaders' flag. The Gestapo chief in Norway said to me personally, "Now it is clear, is it not, that this is a war between God and evil, between law and despotism. Indeed, we are fighting the battle of God against Satan. In a conflict like this the Church, for its own sake, must cooperate!" The Gestapo chief may have been right in some respects. But there is a statement in the Bible about casting out devils through Beelzebub! The Church could not possibly cooperate in this "crusade." Passive resistance, re-

fusal to cooperate, is certainly fully justified when the motives of our opponents are suspicious.

Our second beacon light has made clear to us that the Church is under the holy obligation to proclaim the truth at any cost, and that we are not expected to render unconditional obedience to any man. Does this mean that Christians may actively take part in active resistance against tyranny and a police system which violates the law?

Luther does not give a fully developed answer to this question but only some hints pertaining to definite historical situations. The most important of these occasional utterances is his statement that princes and Christian citizens need not obey emperors and kings who plainly violate the law, who put God-fearing, innocent Christians and preachers to death, and so on. Luther says that in such cases the Christians are released from their duty to obey; such rulers are no different from murderers on the highway. Translated into modern terminology this means: active resistance!

Indeed, the Church as such is not expected to organize armed rebellion against the "murderers on the highway." But according to Augustana XVI there is a distinction between the Church and Christian citizens. What the Church as such may be forbidden to do, is laid upon the citizens as a duty. If the Christian citizen is expected to exercise his political and civil responsibilities, it must be assumed that he has the right and the duty to make decisions for himself and that he is in duty bound to pass judgment upon the lawfulness of the orders which his government issues. He may carry out these orders only when this "may be done without sin." The Christian cannot evade this function on the pretext that he is not responsible for secular affairs. Nothing is "secular" to the Christian conscience. The hour may come when a Christian must ask himself—before God and the collective conscience of the Church—whether he should not offer active resistance. It would, however, be nothing short of a satanic caricature of his existential situation if the only thing that resulted were a gathering of "disgruntled saints." Over against this sort of thing, Romans 13

applies with full force. The Lutheran attitude—we can never emphasize this sufficiently strongly and frequently—is most intimately connected with a sense of holy responsibility.

It may seem strange to quote Thomas Aquinas in a paper developing the Lutheran point of view, but in this instance he is perfectly right when he says, "Patiently to endure wrongs done to yourself is a mark of perfection. But patience over against the wrongs done others, is a sign of imperfection; in fact, it is a sin."

The preceding statements pertain to abnormal conditions rather than to normal life. Ordinarily the Church is called upon to cooperate with state and society, in an atmosphere of mutual confidence. But this presupposes that the state is a law-respecting state and that the Church, on its part, does not seek to gain political power. The Church does not have a moral right to demand financial assistance from the state. (Where the state, owing to historical developments, has become the custodian of Church property, the relation is purely contractual, subject to the norms and duties prescribed by law.)

Freedom of religion, in the Lutheran view, means that the citizens of a state have the freedom to worship God as they please or not to worship Him; they have the freedom to be for the Gospel or against it. But when the government itself joins the enemies of the Gospel, then it is time to do battle. It is time to fight also when those in authority in the government or in the ruling party of a given state attempt to "harness" the power of the Church and to exploit it for their own political ends. It is time to do battle because it is an encroachment upon the vitally necessary freedom of the Gospel.

The Lutheran Church would, of course, prefer to have peaceful relations to the government—not primarily because it loves ease and comfort, but for the sake of God Who called it into being and gave it specific tasks. The will of God is the only thing that matters. The will of God is supreme and unchangeable whereas governments are subject to continual alterations and even basic transformations.

II

The state that existed in Luther's time has passed out of existence and belongs in a museum of historic relics. The situation at that time was this: Luther faced a world of utter confusion and disorder; what he set over against this chaos was law and order and divinely appointed government. The situation today is almost the reverse: today we have a kind of state where everything is regulated almost too thoroughly and controlled too rigidly. The second world war as such did not introduce a new epoch; imperialistic states exist now as they did before the war, on all continents. But the events since the end of the war have most clearly revealed a practically universal trend toward a combination of the law state and the welfare state. The question which we must answer as we face tomorrow is: what will be the relation between the Church and the welfare state?

The specific characteristic of the welfare state is this: on the one hand, it is totally secular, and does not in any way whatever acknowledge God as the Lord of all life; on the other hand, it acts as though it were Providence itself and assumes the right of entering into all the spheres of human life. The problem arises whether the Lutheran doctrine of the two regimes may be maintained under these changed conditions or whether the new state enters so deeply into the spiritual regime that there is no longer any room for the Church. The welfare state does not shrink from violating the secrecy of the individual's conscience; it seeks to exercise total rule. The welfare state aims at being a unified state, a *unity state,* and because it knows the great importance of personal conviction, it sees to it that all its citizens are provided with the "proper" kind of personal conviction. The Nazis called it *Lebensanschauung;* modern welfare states call it "democratic conviction." In the welfare state no system of child training will be permitted except one that serves the purposes of the state. The practice of Christianity will become a side issue, a purely private matter that will not be allowed to interfere with matters of state. There are many indications that a totally new age is about to

begin. It is time for the Church to take stock and to re-think its mission in view of these new conditions.

It is doubtful whether we fulfill our responsibility in this situation by merely finding fault with the new type of state.

Certainly, there is a demonic element in the modern welfare state inasmuch as it seeks to take the place of God, at least indirectly. But this demonic element is found, in one form or another, in all types of states. The Church dare not condemn a state on the ground that it is a secular state.

But the important thing is to inquire after the *motives* which govern the new state. Welfare is a noble word; it has the ring of New Testament language: Take good care of thy neighbor! We will have to ask whether we are right, on the basis of our doctrine of the two regimes, in asserting that it is the monopoly of the Church to help people in need and sorrow. Can we simply refer to I Corinthians 13? Can we truthfully declare that the state in its welfare practice is *never* motivated by love but always only by political considerations or by its program of regimentation, or perhaps by a sort of collective egoism, and that all its welfare work lacks the Christian basis, yes, even the moral basis? Are we really justified in asserting that deeds which *de facto* are good or acts of kindly assistance which are actually rendered, are worthless and reprehensible when they are done, as it were, automatically or by reasons of state?

What we observe today in many countries has the appearance of a sudden upheaval, but in reality it is the result of a long development. The idea of the welfare state no doubt has two distinct roots. The one is the Gospel, the other, the French Revolution. What the Gospel bestows upon the poor and needy as a gift or as mercy or grace, the welfare state wishes to distribute to them as their rightful share, as something to which they are justly entitled. The slogan is: The welfare state takes care of all problems arising in the life of its citizens, down to toothaches and bath water.

Many Christians are tempted to say: Under such conditions

there is no room left for the Church and for the practice of the love of Christ.

But this is wrong. The love of Christ is inventive; it will always find ways of expressing itself, even in a rigidly controlled welfare state, either in the form of corporate action by the Church or in individual acts of Christian mercy. The love of Christ will never die for want of fields in which to exercise itself.

Externally, however, the new situation will create great difficulties for the Church. Its sphere of action is being restricted more and more, even now. The state strives to assume control of one field after the other; it cares for the poor and the aged, it provides for the treatment of the sick; more yet, it seeks to gain exclusive control over the mental and social life of the people and especially over the education of the young. In all these areas the Church at one time had done the pioneer work; but now its activity is gradually becoming "superfluous." The diaconate of the Church—at all times one of the most significant means of proclaiming the message of salvation—is simply, quietly being brought to an end. We will have to expect this development to go on rapidly, in the same direction, everywhere.

And then what? Should the Church go to war for the sake of maintaining a monopoly in this area? Jesus' words to His overzealous monopoly-minded disciples provide the answer, clear and unambiguous: "Forbid him not; for he that is not against us, is for us" (Luke 9:50).

We are not *lords* of love, but servants.

No, the task before us is not to defend any sort of monopoly. In this field our call will always remain the same: practice love wherever it is possible. Even the welfare state will be grateful for service rendered in a spirit of Christian unselfishness.

But the Church will face many difficult decisions in specific cases. As soon as the welfare state reserves for itself the complete care for its citizens in body and soul, it may, for instance, prevent the Church from giving teachers and nurses a training based on Christian principles. If the Church did so in spite of such a prohibition, it would be a purely private matter. In the

modern state all things pertaining to the state need proper authorization; but authorizations are given only when the conditions are met which the state sets up. Besides, it would be relatively easy for the state to establish some sort of price-control and so to deprive church owned or church-operated institutions—for instance, hospitals—of their basis of existence. There seems to be a universal tendency toward the eradication of the diaconate and all its activities.

An important question concerns the *motives* which prompt the state in this regard. Obviously a number of motives enter into the situation. One motive of special significance is this: history proves that despotism invariably tends toward the deification of the state or the ruler. This has been the case right down to the present day, although the outward forms of the process change from age to age. What will be the development within the modern welfare state? This state wishes to become, as we have seen, a kind of "All-Father"; it wants to be omnipotent. There will be no actual demands to worship the state, in the traditional sense; rather, it will be said that the state is sufficient; that the *state is all we need;* that we need no Providence beyond the STATE. The state which we see developing today, attempts to take the place of God by substituting welfare for God and faith.

My personal conviction is that we are here approaching a gigantic struggle. This war must be waged differently than the battle which we had to fight against the police state. What is now in the process of developing is a conception of the state which assumes to the state such qualities and functions as it has no right to assume. This new state, conceived in arrogance and characterized by presumptuous pride (German: *Staats-Hybris*), even when it cloaks itself in the garment of democracy, is blasphemous; it assumes to itself the rights of God, and therefore it is our mortal enemy. The welfare state *as such* does not belong in this category; and it need not develop in this direction provided the Church and individual Christians exercise their influence. We should recognize the God-given tasks of the state and assist it in all its worthy endeavors.

The main question is: How can we exert a positive, helpful influence? For the time being, the main question is *not:* How can we resist?

We must frankly warn our rulers against the prevailing tendency toward "statism," toward arrogance and presumptuousness in government, and also against the ever present tendency toward totalitarianism. But in distinction from the police state, it is still possible in the welfare state to exert considerable influence by means of a well-informed public opinion. The Church should seek to inspire its members to common action and enable them to mold public opinion in the right direction. Faithful Christians should be the best citizens. The promises of God belong only to the Church that serves. The Church must be able to forget its own welfare; for he who loves his own life will surely lose it.

The Church's ideological battle against "statism" must be accompanied, nay, rather consist in, a holy contest of inventive Love in the service of our neighbors. If the Church neglects its social welfare functions, the battle is lost.

What legitimate demands may the Church direct to the welfare state? We wish to emphasize four such demands:

1) The Church must demand the undiminished freedom to proclaim the word of God and to exercise Christian love in the service of men. The Church dare not be satisfied with the assurance that freedom of worship is guaranteed. An attempt by the state to sterilize the social welfare work of the Church would constitute a frontal attack upon the freedom of the Gospel.

2) The Church must not allow itself to be exploited by the state for political purposes. The Church must not become a tool of power politics.

3) The right to determine the education of the children belongs to the parents. The free time of children and youth must not be monopolized by state agencies.

4) The state must force nothing upon anyone, whether child or adult, that is contrary to God's clear commandments. A state which arrogates to itself the right to determine what is good and what is evil, must logically think of itself as an institute of salva-

tion; and this is equivalent to the deification of the state. Christians must be allowed to have their own religious convictions; this right is one of the basic rights of man, even in states where practicing Christians form a minority of the population.

Demands such as these will be met without the slightest hesitancy by our modern democracies. The difficulty today is that modern states have learned many lessons from the totalitarian governments and that they have acquired great skill in camouflaging their aims and purposes; they do not demand anything obviously contrary to God's law, but they use smoke-screens and window-dressing to hide their ultimate goals.

For this reason the Church, more than ever before, needs men of clear vision and astute mind, men who are well-informed about political developments and who can help the members of the Church to think and act as Christians in the difficult situation today. Every Lutheran Church body should have a commission dealing specifically with the problems arising in the relationship between Church and state.

It seems to be necessary to warn the Church explicitly against forming an alliance with one specific political party. While the individual Christian citizens may join to form a political party, the Church must neither identify itself with a political party nor allow any political party to claim that such an alliance exists. All citizens, including pastors, have the right to engage in political activity (although pastors should exercise special vigilance in this respect); more than that, it is the *duty* of all Christians who are aware of their responsibility to take an active part in political life. This is the demand which the state directs to us Christians. Keep from being useless and dead members of society; do not allow yourselves to become dull members of the voter's herd, but assume your share of responsibility along with all the other citizens who are motivated by good will; be a leaven, act as salt, if need be, dangerous salt!

Is *Munificentissimus Deus* a Purely Theological Document?

Edwin T. Greninger

ON NOVEMBER 1, 1950, Eugene Pacelli, His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, issued the expected Bull or Constitution *Munificentissimus Deus* (the Most Bountiful God. Papal bulls are identified by the first two Latin words). According to this constitution, all Roman Catholics must believe that the Virgin Mary was assumed bodily into heaven. In keeping with papal custom the pope summed up the lengthy discourse on the reasons for the action by stating in traditional fashion:

> By the authority of Our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by Our own authority, we pronounce, declare, and define it to be a divinely revealed dogma: that the Immaculate Mother of God, the ever Virgin Mary, having completed the course of her earthly life was assumed body and soul into heavenly glory.
>
> Hence, if anyone, which God forbid, should dare willfully to deny or to call into doubt that which we have defined, let him know that he has fallen away completely from the divine and Catholic faith.[1]

Among the first arguments, presented to add to the validity of the dogma, was the statement that the faithful had been urgently petitioning the Holy See for a definition of this subject. This petitioning was started by Isabella II of Spain in 1863 and between that time and 1942 over eight million signatures had been appended to various petitions. Most of these entreaties originated in three countries—the U. S., Spain, and Ireland.

Over one hundred thousand clergy were among those desiring a definition. This is interesting because the papal curia claims

1 *"Munificentissimus Deus"* in *The Thomist,* A Speculative Quarterly Review (Washington, D. C.), XIV (Jan., 1951), 21. This translation was made by the Rev. Joseph C. Fenton, S.T.D., Catholic University of America, and is the official translation.

it did not take this weighty step until it had the sanction of the bishops. The number consulted is not known but rumor has it that only 3 percent of those polled responded in the negative. Thus those whom "the Holy Ghost has placed as Bishops to rule the Church of God" have thrown the weight of their collective theological opinions behind the new dogma as an added buttress.

As shown above the papal bull has met with a popular acceptance. In fact one can not but feel on reading this portion of the document that the faithful have almost forced a reluctant papacy to take this step. However this is a subject to be decided by theologians and not by popular whim or fancy. Then, too, that divine right monarchy, the Papacy, is not accustomed to being dictated to, especially by its own devotees. It just does not operate that way. Congregationalism, of which this might be a minor sample, is not tolerated in this hierarchy. Therefore why were these statements included in the constitution? Because they are buttressing arguments. Far more important is the underlying feeling that these statements are intended to serve as camouflage.

This line of reasoning is further heightened when one realizes that this action on last All Saints' Day practically closes the door on any hope of reconciliation between the Church of Rome and that of England. Prior to this event the attempts at reconciliation had received a jolting blow in Pope Leo XIII's *Apostolicae Curae*. This very definite declaration of September 18, 1896, refused to recognize the Anglican priesthood's claims to Apostolic succession. Still the door of reconciliation had remained somewhat ajar. Those who know of Rome's fond hopes of winning back its errant children, the Protestants and especially the Anglicans, know that something very drastic or of utmost importance to the Papacy must have caused it to ignore the warnings of the English archbishops. Last August these worthies issued a statement to the effect that their church could not accept any dogma on the Assumption, should it be proclaimed.

Since, therefore, it would seem that a significant motive lies behind the issuance of the dogmatic statement, let us see if we can find it.

As I now see the problem, there are three main threads interwoven into the fabric comprising the motive. These three I have labeled: Caesaro-Papism—i.e., that strange mixture of an absolute temporal monarch and an ecclesiastical sovereign whose aim is keeping the church orthodox in order to remain in power—the religious background, and Moscow.

The Papacy, it is well known, bases all its claims to being the true voice of the Christian Church on Matthew 16:18-19 where Christ says:

> And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the powers of death shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.[2]

The Roman Catholic church asserts that Christ meant Peter personally and turned over to him this power which later plays an important historical role under the title of "keys to the kingdom of heaven." To further substantiate this assertion, the papacy falls back on the tradition which has Peter the first bishop of the city of Rome and therefore the spiritual ancestor of all other bishops of this city. Behind these assertions lies an attempt to justify an existing situation. The city of Rome laid claim to the headship of the Christian Church when this group became predominantly Gentile because it was the center of the Empire. Soon even the emperors were Christian. These men in accordance with empire tradition considered themselves the physical head of the state church which Christianity became during the reign of Constantine the Great. When the emperor at Rome needed spiritual advice or guidance on ecclesiastical matters, he naturally turned to his local bishop. Then for administrative purposes all churches in the western half of the Empire were placed under the See of Rome by an Imperial Edict in 445.

The patriarch of Constantinople refused to recognize any supremacy on the part of his brother at Rome. The patriarch's

2 Revised Standard Version.

claims were based on transferral of the Empire's center to his city at the end of the fourth century. It was undisputedly the center of the Empire following the disintegration of the western portion and the fall of the city itself in 476. On taking over the Eternal City Odoacer refused the imperial purple preferring to recognize Zeno, the Emperor in Constantinople.

The ultimate outcome of Rome's fall as far as its bishops were concerned was that they, by being strong, forceful personages, gathered the civil reins into their hands. Pepin's Donation in 756 of lands in Central Italy, which later became the famous Papal States, helped strengthen their hands. The crowning of Charlemagne as Emperor in 800 was a continuation of this policy.

From the time of the city's fall until the coronation the bishops of Rome recognized the temporal supremacy of the emperor in Constantinople and in theory at least the ecclesiastical overlordship of his underling, the patriarch. This state of affairs was humiliating—thus Charlemagne was crowned so that the pope no longer need recognize Constantinople.

Although the Empire as an empire had long been a figment of the imagination, the Frankish king was made a Roman emperor because Rome's prestige still lingered on. However Daniel's prophecy of four empires was a far more important reason. Everyone knew that Rome was the last of the four; therefore this, too, had to be the Roman Empire.

Even though the pope, Leo III, had raised a new occupant to the imperial throne, he, too, had to acquiesce in the temporal lord's dominance in things ecclesiastical. However, as time went on, a new group of popes arose who felt that they and not a layman should be head of the church. Thus we have the conflict made famous by Henry IV's temporary surrender and abjection in the snow at Canossa in 1077. With the Concordat of Worms (1122) this struggle was ended. The popes had won the right to appoint abbots and bishops within the gradually lessening bounds of the Holy Roman Empire. In practice this meant that the pope no longer need give even token obedience to the temporal lords.

The next step was to bring these lords under surveillance.

Innocent III proved this could be done by breaking the proud John of England to such an extent that rebellious English nobles were able to extract the Magna Carta. Boniface VIII tried to carry on in the grand tradition. In 1302 he issued the bull *Unam Sanctam,* one of the most pretentious statements ever made. In it he categorically stated, "We, moreover, proclaim, declare, and pronounce, that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human being to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." This assertion is a combination of the pontiff's drive toward temporal supremacy and of his interpretation of scripture. To him it was only just and right that he make this claim because had not Christ given Peter the keys to the kingdom of heaven and was he not Peter's successor?

Following Boniface's death from chagrin at having been forced to flee his home town, the papacy went into decline. The nadir of the papacy found Western Christendom with three men each claiming to be Christ's vicar on earth. One of these was in Rome; another in Avignon, France; and still a third in Constance, Germany. The first two had been elected by the college of Cardinals located in each of the two towns while the third was elected by a General Council called to settle the question of just who was pope. When this council ended its session in 1418 after one pope was finally chosen and recognized by the important princes of the West, the popes very quickly regained their old prestige. By negotiations and persuasion the pope was able to maneuver the rebellious Council of Basle into voting its own dissolution. This ended for the next one hundred years any attempt on the part of the church councils to dictate policy to the papacy.

Any serenity and complacency the Holy See might have had was shattered in 1517 when Luther nailed the Ninety-five Theses to the chapel door in Wittenberg. The successful revolutionists whose movement stemmed from this act ignored the papal claims to being Christ's vicar. How could they do otherwise? for they believed in the "priesthood of all believers." Under this conception it was not a church which appeared before God asking His forgiveness for sin but the individual human being himself. At the same time, as papal pretentions were torn asunder, the unity of

the medieval Christian world was destroyed. The rising national states probably would have done this at a later date; therefore the Protestant Revolt only hastened the end.

Although these events gave the papacy a severe, jolting blow, it was not a killing one. The idea of the Roman Empire was too firmly entrenched in popular imagination. Thus we find the idea of the temporal kingdom lingering on until Napoleon delivered *le coup de grace* in 1806 when he relegated the Holy Roman Empire to the scrap heap reserved for revered but archaic ideas.

The papacy survived because it girded its loins for a fight. This revitalization can be traced to the Council of Trent which ended in 1563 after nearly twenty years of intermittent meeting and discussion. Out of these deliberations came three very important weapons, only one of which was new. This was the newly organized Society of Jesus, better known as the Jesuits. These soldiers of Christ and servants of the pope made effective use of the other two weapons. Both the Inquisition and the Index of Forbidden Books had been used earlier but now they were given new direction. With the Jesuits serving as an inspiration to the rather worldly minded monastic orders and priesthood, with the Index acting as a formal barrier to inquisitive minds, and with the Inquisition physically punishing those who could be brought into line no other way, the papacy was in a position to fight for its life.

During the time when all the states and rulers of Western Europe were giving a token homage to the concept of Christian unity in medieval days, the papacy relied chiefly upon two punitive instruments to hold the few recalcitrants in line. These two arms were the interdict and excommunication. The latter placed the individual beyond the pale of society and made him lawful game for any hunter. The interdict affected a whole area by forbidding church services in it.

However, once the unity was broken, these two weapons were not as effective as they once were. To make either workable required a cooperative civil administration. In many instances this cooperation was gone and in others it was unreliable. Consequently

a new approach had to be developed to retain what flock was left. The new approach was to keep rigid control on man's mind. The priests aided and abetted by the Index and for a time by the Inquisition in Spain especially, could combat new and original ideas with old ones altered to fit the situation.

Now let us briefly examine the religious background for this dogmatic pronouncement we are studying.

Many well informed Roman Catholics when questioned will admit that there is no biblical reference which they can cite regarding the Virgin's Assumption. Some will add that a few biblical verses such as Genesis 3:15, Psalms 45:9, and Revelation 12:1-6 speak of the Virgin in an allegorical sense; others will mention the early Church Fathers who wrote on this subject and deducing from this quite correctly that, therefore, this theory has been held for a long time. On the strength of this type of argument they contend, if it has been a pious opinion for so long a time, there must be a kernel of truth somewhere. It was exactly on the strength of such specious reasoning as this that Pope Pius made many of his defensive arguments in *Munificentissimus Deus*.

The one Father on whom he heavily relied was St. John of Damascene. Unfortunately, by the time the saint wrote in the eighth century many apocryphal writings were abroad. Even though Pope Gelasius in the fifth century condemned these writings, their influence lived on. Then, too, the saint lived and wrote after the Mary cult had made its influence felt. Had St. John of Damascene lived in the first or second centuries more credulity might be accorded his reliability as a witness.

Arising largely from pagan origins the Mary cult had gained a firm foothold within Christianity by the third and fourth centuries. It crept in because this new religion had no counterpart in the pagan worship of the Magna Mater, of Isis, or of Diana. The city of Ephesus, famed as a center for the worship of the last mentioned goddess, was a stronghold of the Mary cult. The cult also made headway, so it is said, because the church leaders of those days were interested in curbing the dynamic spirit exhibited by the martyrs. The submissive spirit shown a mother would act

as a natural brake, it was felt. Submission was needed both from the standpoint of the church's hierarchy and of the state which wanted the Christians to be dutiful citizens. Thus it can be seen why the celebration of the Feasts of St. Anne (the Immaculate Conception) and of the Assumption entered into the church liturgy rather early. The most authoritative studies show that the Feast of the Assumption was introduced into the calendar about the late fifth century.

Aside from its effects upon the church year the Mary cult did have a very beneficial and practical effect upon the social world. To its influence can be traced chivalry and the courts of love sponsored by twice-married Eleanor of Acquitaine and her daughters. Although the courts of love were basically a phenomenon of the twelfth century, in their short existence they did help raise the standard of the rough and uncouth medieval knight. He was taught to be more gentle to and respectful of women in his social caste.

While the Mary cult was producing the above mentioned social effects, the idea that the Virgin's body had been translated into heaven following her death remained in church tradition. Nevertheless this theory must have met some opposition because Benedict XIV (d. 1754) declared that it was a pious opinion "which to deny was impious and blasphemous." At this stage the idea remained until Pius IX declared in the Bull *Ineffibilis Dei* of December 8, 1854, that the Virgin had been immaculately conceived—i.e., "in the first instant of her conception by a singular privilege and grace granted by God [the Virgin] was preserved free from all stain of original sin."

The utterance of this dogma gave impetus to the desire by Isabella and eight million others for papal definition on the question of the Virgin's assumption. However before this theme can be examined further, there remains to be inspected the third of our three entwined threads.

Moscow's first contact with Rome was at the beginning of the eleventh century when the rulers of Kiev, then Russia's most important city, accepted Christianity and the dominance of the

patriarch of Constantinople. Prior to their conversion to Christianity the Kievians had been approached by missionaries from Constantinople, from Rome, and from the Khazars who had recently espoused Judaism. With the acceptance of the Orthodox rite Russia became a spiritual heir of Constantinople. As time went on the affinity may not have grown closer but it was close enough for Russia to make it the basis of claims following the fall of the city on the Golden Horn in 1453.

With the Turkish sultan sitting on the throne graced by the caesars of old Rome, the Roman Empire had come to an end in the eyes of all the world except Russia. By means of a neat bit of legal reasoning full of very loosely constructed interpretations, Russia ignored the *fait accompli* and said she was carrying on the empire traditions. In 1473 the king, Ivan, married a distant cousin of the Paleologi, the last imperial family. In Russian eyes this act made them the legal heirs of Rome. To give further validity to their pretensions, Russian court writers drew up a genealogy which traced Ivan's family tree back to a fictitious son of Julius Caesar. This never-before-heard-of son had at his father's request won Crimea and the Ukraine for Rome. However the peace and quiet in those regions or the lure of the wide open spaces conquered the conqueror, for he settled there, married, and established his own dynasty. (Thus we see the present tendency of the Russians to make exaggerated and untenable assertions is not new.) Supported by such irrefutable evidence Ivan took upon himself as many of the trappings of the emperors as he could. The double eagle in the Paleologi coat of arms became his; and the word "tsar," the Russian equivalent of the Greek title "autocrator," began appearing on formal proclamations and in correspondence. On bases such as these the Russians began considering their country the Third Rome with the inherent implications of ultimate world empire.

In 1917 Holy Mother Russia underwent a revolution in which the tsar was overthrown. The new rulers immediately and since have been widely proclaiming their anti-imperialist views. Only now are people beginning to see through this false facade; only

now are they recognizing that the Communists are the heirs of Tsarist policies. Not only is the new Russian elite the heir by spirit but also by practice. Since 1917 Russia is no longer referred to as "Holy Mother" by outsiders; maybe even few Russians use the term; but whether or not it is used does not matter. The ideology embodied in this expression still lives.

Even prior to the claims to being the Third Rome, Moscow considered itself the protector of the faithful. In 1439 at the Council of Florence an effort was made to heal the schism created in 1054 when the pope and the patriarch excommunicated each other as a result of the *Filioque* controversy. Only two of the Orthodox representatives really accepted the compromise; one of these was the patriarch himself and the other was the metropolitan of Kiev. Rome gave the metropolitan a cardinal's red hat, while Russia gave him the gate. Because he and the patriarch deserted the "true faith," the metropolitanate of Moscow was able to eclipse that of Kiev and to become the center of true orthodoxy. Moscow's position was further strengthened when the patriarch became the tool of the sultan.

When the Turks turned the beautiful church of St. Sophia into a mosque, the Russians decided it was their duty to rescue this place of worship from the hands of the non-believers. Rome, too, recognized a danger in the Turks; but once the tide of Turkish conquest in Europe waned, the Vatican's interest in the defeat of the Turks decreased appreciably. Had the Reformation not depleted Rome's military reserves, this might not have been the papal attitude. Thus the task of carrying the banner of the crusade against the Ottoman Turk devolved to Russia, and Russia held aloft the banner until 1917. With the coming of the Bolsheviks this potential breeding ground of antagonism between the two centers has disappeared because Moscow no longer evinces interest in freeing the mosque.

Russian attitude of distrust toward Rome can be illustrated by reminding the reader that the Roman rites of worship were not permitted in Russia until the Baltic Germans became the court

powers and until the western kingdoms had regular embassies in St. Petersburg, the *de facto* capital until 1918.

Another source of conflict between the two contenders occurred in Poland following the partitions of that unhappy land. Wherever they could, the Russians proselytized Polish Catholics. However, their efforts gained them few converts and more ill will from Rome which, like a good shepherd, feared any wolf or wolves lingering near its flock.

If nothing else, this brief account should show that since the middle of the fourteenth century an ideological contest has been building up between Rome and its arch rival Moscow. Until the advent of Lenin and his followers the core of the conflict was the schism between the Roman and Greek branches of the Christian Church. Now, however, the emphasis has changed. It is still ideological with the Third Rome idea hovering in the background. But instead of Moscow advocating Russian or Greek Orthodoxy it is seeking converts to Communism. To Communists their new found religion offers them not a doubtful, contented hereafter but a Utopian present.

Interwoven with the threat emanating from Moscow is another rather seductive enchantress. This is known as nationalism and is not confined exclusively to Russia. Western Europe and the rest of the world has been swept by this religion—for religion it is. Nationalism has all the trappings of the regularly accepted religions. It has a creed, "I believe in one nation, indivisible with liberty and justice for all." It has its martyrs—Nathan Hale and Abraham Lincoln—and shrines connected with their martyrdom and self-sacrifice—Gettysburg, Valley Forge, and Iwo Jima to name a few of the more familiar. And it has its anthems and hymns—"Star Spangled Banner," "America," and "God Bless America."

Rome would never openly admit it, but to her, nationalism is as much a danger as is Communism. Does not nationalism tend to emphasize the differences between men of various nations? Thus Rome can not but be repelled by nationalism, for it con-

tributes to the breakdown of Christian unity—a theory to which Rome so ardently and desperately clings.

Nationalism has its roots in the national states which were rapidly rising even before 1517. However it did not become a threat until the French Revolution showed Europe that this new found belief could save a nation by inspiring its peoples. Through powerful reactionary forces nationalism's impetus was retarded in Central Europe until the last half of the nineteenth century. Thus the papacy might have been lulled into a false sense of security by thinking that this new disease of men's minds would be confined to France. Or it could be that the papacy was slow to recognize nationalism as a threat. At any rate the papacy's answer did not come until the pope's temporal power in the city of Rome was endangered by a strong expanding Italian nationalism. In a last desperate move a council was held at the Vatican. At its conclusion the Vatican Council issued the famous pronouncement, *Pastor Aeternus* (1870). This letter declared that

> . . . when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra* that is, when in the discharge of his office as Doctor and Pastor of all Christians, in view of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the whole Church, he enjoys, by the divine assistance promised him in Blessed Peter, that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for the purpose of defining doctrines concerning faith or morals.

Outwardly this utterance was intended to cow any Roman Catholics who might be inclined to dispute papal authority. This it probably has done; nevertheless it immediately lost for the Roman Church one of her greatest theologians, the German, Döllinger. Another outward manifestation was to show the Protestants that Christ's vicar on earth is the only true authority on matters spiritual. However this appeal and/or warning to return to Rome's fold failed because Protestants by holding to the priesthood of all believers regard these papal claims as mere pretensions.

The inner motivation of the letter *Pastor Aeternus* seems to have been an effort to retain the Eternal City as the Pope's spe-

cial temporal domain. At least this is what the Italians believed because it was a strong, silent motive behind Italy's entrance into the Triple Alliance of 1882-1915. This same fear caused the Italians to demand the exclusion of any Papal diplomats in the settlements following World War I.

This has always been a world in which ideas have been contending for first place in men's minds. As has been shown the Holy See has almost from its beginnings demanded complete acquiescence on the part of its adherents. Like a jealous and possessive wife it will brook no rivals and demands complete surrender on the part of those who embrace it. *Pastor Aeternus* is another of its demands—albeit a bold and confident one. Here in a world torn by varying and diverse claims is one that has divine sanction. In effect Rome says through this letter, other claims may come and go but Rome's remains.

Since the idea that Rome is waging a war of spiritual and intellectual propaganda has been advanced, let us examine Rome's latest efforts to capture men's minds.

Being clever and skillful propagandists, the powers in the Vatican know the way must be prepared for any big claim. This they have done in the case of the Assumption. Some historians claim that the way for the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was prepared by the credulity given to Benedette's visions of the Virgin in the grotto at Lourdes. Perhaps some of the readers of this article have noticed the frequency of discussions and songs about Our Lady of Fatima in the past year. I am not going to accuse the Roman Church of deliberately planting these ideas. Present evidence shows them to have come directly from the devout themselves. However I will assert that once the ideas were abroad, the authorities made no attempt to stamp them out. If silence does nothing else, it encourages these ideas.

Although it might appear to be so from my development of this topic, I do not consider the dogma of the Assumption to be the apex of Roman dogmatic development. For me, the height was reached with the utterance of the claim to infallibility. The most recent pronouncement is really only a side issue when viewed

from the aspect of the struggle involved. It is important to remember that the Vatican has freely hinted at its claims to infallibility. This free usage of its claims has served as a sort of sugar coated palliative for an idea the papacy knew some of its faithful would otherwise reject.[3]

Liberal use was made of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception because here existed an idea which could be used as a very valuable support. For myself, with my own respect for Romanist dialectical abilities, I believe the Vatican would have had no difficulty in finding other arguments had there been no dogma on the Conception.

What then is the motive for the pronouncement? One of the first statements within the Bull is that the privilege of the Assumption has been made clear to this present age. Near the end of the definition the importance of the present time is plainly stated in "we believe that the moment appointed in the plan of divine Providence for the solemn proclamation of this outstanding privilege of the Virgin Mary has already arrived." Viewed realistically this means that today a great struggle is being waged for the domination of men's thoughts and therefore this is a very good time to recall to men that one idea—and one alone—has the answer.

Nineteen hundred fifty was a very good time because it was a Holy Year.[4] Being a Holy Year, publicity has turned the minds

3 *Munificentissimus Deus* is a cleverly worded document. In no place does it explicitly claim to have been infallibly issued. The impression is, however, developed through such quotations as the following from the Vatican Council: "the Holy Ghost was not promised to the successors of Peter in such a way that, by His revelation, they might manifest new doctrine, but so that, by His assistance, they might guard as sacred and might faithfully propose the revelation delivered through the Apostles, or the deposit of faith."

Nevertheless there is no doubt that the Roman Catholic prefers to regard the pronouncement as infallible. Archbishop Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, is one of the hierarchy helping to foster this conception. The archbishop wrote in "The Assumption—and Devotion to Mary in America," *The Thomist,* XIV (Jan., 1951), 23, that on the morning of November 1, 1950, the reigning pontiff was about to define *ex cathedra.*

4 The first Holy Year was the Papal Jubilee of 1300. Boniface VIII found it put so much money in his depleted coffers that he felt able to stand up to Philip the Fair of France. In return for their monies the pilgrims became the unwitting spreaders of a physical plague. Because the first Holy Year was such a success financially, the time interval was cut from 100 years to 50 and later to every 25, the present interval.

of Christendom toward Rome. Even behind the Iron Curtain news of events in Rome was given attention. As is well known the Roman Church in the countries behind the Iron Curtain has been under attack. This attack has been severe because in such countries as Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Hungary the church has retained its feudal position. It has been able to retain this position because until now the stirrings of nationalism have been rather superficial. To be sure nationalism was there; but it affected primarily only the leaders; it had not seeped down to the masses. Now as a result of the recent European war its effects are being felt. In these Iron Curtain countries the situation is made worse from the papacy's standpoint by the clever way in which the Communists are using nationalism to cover their real aims. Then, too, in Italy and France, other Romanist strongholds, Communism has gained many converts. Thus Rome dare not relax its ever alert discipline in these countries. The old struggle between Rome and Moscow is being renewed and Rome has no intention of losing ground to the old enemy.

To combat this ill-gotten union between the religions of Communism and nationalism, Rome has built a defense line. At the present, one is not able to determine how effective the parish priest will be in the fight if the people can be weaned from dependence on him. The Inquisition is no longer used and the Index may not be very effective should the literacy rate in the countries behind the Iron Curtain remain low. Therefore, a new salient had to be opened—issue a statement that would readily gain acceptance and one that would recall to the wavering the obvious and ultimate superiority of the Christian Church's claims! This was done by proclaiming the dogma of the Assumption.

I think the above argument was more influential in the minds of the Papal Curia than any hope of present reunion with the Protestant churches. This is why I believe the protest of the Anglican archbishops went unheeded.

Additional proof that the utterance was part of a plan to deal with a present situation is to be found in the 1950 excavations in and around the Vatican showing that Peter's bones rest in the

building. This statement ignores the historical fact that in 846 Moslem sea raiders plundered and ravaged the graves of SS. Peter and Paul. Rome does not, however, ignore the support which the alleged discovery of Peter's bones lends to its claims.

The most recent attempt to control men's minds was a decree forbidding priests from being members of International Rotary. The commonly accepted reason is that in some countries Rotary is infested with a mental cancer known as Freemasonry. The Roman Church abhors Masonry because it reputedly is deistic in background and above all because it, too, takes the place of "true religion" in the minds of many of its adherents. The Catholic Church, of course, is not the only ecclesiastical body to abhor Masonry.

Some theologians fear that the dogma of the Assumption is only a step in preparation for the ultimate goal of Mariology which numbers many followers within the ranks of Rome. These men feel that eventually Rome will declare the Virgin to be part of or equal to the Godhead. Personally I doubt very much if the Vatican will ever go this far afield in espousing heresy. I doubt this, because as has been stressed this whole question is a struggle for the control of men's minds and in this instance a theological weapon has been used.

Rome does not fear the ultimate outcome. It knows it will win in the long run. Has it not successfully withstood other attacks? Rome's concern is that it does not lose too many followers while winning.[5]

5 There is a sense of satisfaction in knowing that no less a personage than the redoubtable bishop, Fulton J. Sheen, also sees another facet to the dogma. To him the dogma is a counterattack upon the present influence of Darwin, Hegel, Marx, Feuerbach, and Freud. Not only does confidence exuberate from his prediction of the final outcome but he must privately be anticipating an early millenium, for he believes that "within three decades the definition of the Assumption will cure the pessimism and despair of the modern world." "The Assumption and the Modern World," *The Thomist,* XIV (Jan., 1951), 39.

Luther and the "Orders of Creation" in Relation to a Doctrine of Work and Vocation

Martin J. Heinecken

"Therefore all duties are performed as fruits of the Holy Spirit, bringing up children, loving one's wife, obeying the magistrate. Among the papists these are carnal things, because they do not know what 'creatures' are." (WA XI, 1, 348)

IT IS not my intention in this paper to enter critically into the problem of what is the correct interpretation of Luther with respect to the "orders of creation" and the "two kingdoms." I have simply presented that which seems to me profoundly relevant to a doctrine of work and vocation. The question is not whether or not this is the authentic Luther, but whether it can contribute anything to the formulation of the doctrine in question. An effort has been made to quote Luther directly as much as possible. These quotations are, however, for the most part derived from secondary works dealing with the problem (see bibliography).

The most important initial consideration is the recognition of the fact that the Troeltsch-Niebuhr interpretation of Luther has been conclusively refuted. There is a voluminous literature to show that Troeltsch was mistaken in saying that Luther bifurcated the Christian life, making of the God relationship entirely an inner spiritual matter which left the Christian in his relation to the world untouched, applying a code of ethics quite unaffected by the God relationship. This would mean a double standard—a private morality and a professional morality—quite foreign to Luther's thought.

More recently, Holl's interpretation has also been superseded. Holl did yeoman service in the controversy by refuting Troeltsch

(see *Gesammelte Aufsaetze: Der Neubau der Sittlichkeit*). He made clear how Luther built up an altogether new and different type of morality from that of the scholastics. True morality is based on the right God relationship, when the good is done not calculatingly but freely and spontaneously out of love. The one who is in the right God relationship on the basis of justification by grace through faith is now free for the service of love to his neighbor. Such service of love to the neighbor is possible only in the place where God has put a man, that is, within the "orders of creation" and the stations of life. There is thus no distinction between a personal and a professional morality, but the only morality is that which the Christian, who has the mind of Christ, displays in the exercise of his calling. Quoting Holl:

"Ever since the reciprocal relationship between the calling and service to the neighbor dawned on Luther, the calling appears to him as that particular piece of work which God has assigned to the individual and in the performance of which he acts as God's assistant while at the same time performing his duty to his fellowmen. . . . Whoever performs any kind of work which is useful to others has in this the sign that he has been "called," that is, commissioned of God. This conviction alone also gives him the courage fearlessly to face the dangers which confront him in his activities." (*Der Neubau der Sittlichkeit,* p. 269.)

When anyone was puzzled about how and where he should do the will of God, Luther had a ready answer:

"Perhaps you will say, 'But what if I am not called; what shall I do then?' Answer: How is it possible that you should not be called? You will always be in a station. You are either a husband, wife, son, daughter, servant, or maid. Just consider the lowliest station; if you are a husband, don't you suppose you will have enough to do in it? To manage your wife, child, household and goods so that all will be done in obedience to God without doing any one an injustice." (WA 1, 1; 306, 6 ff.)

"Saint Peter says that the graces and gifts of God are not all of one kind, but various. And each one is to realize what his own are and use them so that he may be of use to others. What a fine thing it would be if everyone took care of his own, while at the same time thereby serving his neighbor. So they would journey amicably together on the right road to heaven." (Id., 311, 3.)

This still leaves the difficult question as to how the Christian succeeds in fulfilling the divine command of love in a calling which makes demands quite contrary to love, such as the exercise of force. It is the question concerning the relation between the two kingdoms. It is at this point that Holl's interpretation is superseded. Holl, too, perceived clearly that for Luther both kingdoms were God's. Yet he subordinated the one to the other, and he conceived of the orders only as instruments in the service of the kingdom on the right hand. By way of contrast, it is now contended that Luther gave to the orders an altogether independent significance, just as he accorded to the reason and to the *justitia civilis* an independence of their own. The two kingdoms are to be strictly separated, but not in the manner of Troeltsch so as to lead to an inner and an outer, a private and a public morality, but rather in the sense that God deals creatively with men in a two-fold way —in the Law and in the Gospel, granting men righteousness in the Gospel and ruling and governing the world through the law, that is, through the orders of creation. (This law is, however, always in the service of love.) All the orders, therefore, are supralapsarian in origin. They exist not only because of sin, not only to provide the framework within which the Church may function, but they exist in order that in and through them God may speak to and act upon men and that in and through them men may perform God's will.

"Holl speaks exclusively of the state as an institution in the service of the kingdom of God and not as a divine ordinance over against the spiritual one. He never attains to the point of view that the kingdoms are themselves to be understood as the manifestations of God's goodness. He is more concerned about judging the state as an institution according to its fruits, according to its importance as the foundation for a higher Christian life, than he is about judging it quite in itself as a divine ordinance. The real question should be concerning the view that faith has of the state itself and not so much the question concerning the importance of the state for faith. The institutional orientation betrays itself precisely in its emphasis upon the purpose which the state is to serve. As a consequence, the point of view of creation is pushed into the background. The important thing for Luther, however, is not the institution as such or the service which it renders in

human society, but it is, moreover, the divine goodness which appears in the institution itself. This is what Luther calls seeing the *divinitas in larva* (WA 40, 1; 174, 3). Everything depends upon seeing the institution as one element of a basically unified divine context." (Toernvall: *Geistliches und weltliches Regiment bei Luther,* pp. 65-66.)

What this means may perhaps become clearer in the sequel.

THE "ORDERS" AND CREATION

Luther's doctrine of the "orders" should be understood from his doctrine of creation and the manner in which God reveals Himself to His creatures.[1]

For Luther the creation as such was good. It is in and through the creation that God comes to man and blesses man. The created world, therefore, is not a lower order of being but is itself the instrument of the divine goodness. When now God chooses to reveal Himself, He does so in and through the creation itself.

Luther insisted over against the Enthusiasts (Schwärmer) that Christ actually was present in the created thing. Here was his best bulwark against a spiritualizing of the God-relation. "The Enthusiasts say: he (i.e., Christ) is present spiritually in us, i.e., speculatively, while in reality he is *above*. But faith and Christ should be joined. This is not a matter of speculation but of actuality." (WA XL, I; 546, 5.)

"Therefore it is a poor wit which says that Christ is ascended

1 In a footnote, p. 27, *op. cit.,* Toernvall says that, to his knowledge, Luther never used the expression, "Schoepfungsordnung." Toernvall, therefore, objects to the use of this term because, he says, it leads to the implication that some of the orders are not created, whereas they all are. It leads to conceiving the spiritual kingdom apart from the idea of creation, whereas the idea of creation should undergird both kingdoms. Furthermore, it leads to a separation of the actual state from an ideal state, and of an actual economic order from an ideal one, whereas such an idealistic orientation was quite foreign to Luther. For Luther the actual orders were the divinely ordained orders which were in any given case either abused or properly used. As Toernvall points out elsewhere, the righteousness which clothes the sinner is just as much a creative act of God as the civil righteousness which is given creatively to the ruler who rules justly. This emphasis is essential to the overcoming of secularism which always prompts men to take the credit to themselves. The words which Luther does use are "ordo," "ordo divina," "ordo naturalis," "ordinatio," "ordinatio divina," "creatura dei," "weltliches regiment," "potestas ordinata," "corporalia," "das Reich zur linken Hand," "particula deitatis."

into heaven. But it is not in mundane or temporal beings . . . the Enthusiasts say, he is not in the world, therefore he is not in the sacrament, in baptism, and the external word." (XXVIII, 142, 9 f.)

This is connected with the hiddenness of God in His revelation. God in His naked transcendence cannot appear to man.

"We are not able to deal with God with uncovered face" (WA. XL, I, 174, 2).

God, therefore, deals with men through a medium. In this medium He must, however, be conceived as directly present and active. Here Luther's opposition to scholasticism becomes clear. Oscar Carlson writes:

"There (in scholasticism) the world of the senses under Platonist and Aristotelian influences is interpreted as the reflection of the divine world of ideas. Communication with God takes place through abstraction rather than through the world of concrete reality, Luther conceives of it in a diametrically opposite fashion. It is precisely the created world in all its concreteness and materiality that provides one channel for God's revelation of Himself. The home and family into which one has been born, the school which he attends, the local magistrate, the job which he is assigned in the community, all the instituted authorities by which his activity is governed, these are "masks of God." Only faith, however, sees these as coming from and belonging to God (WA 19; 629, 30). In fact, there Luther identifies the worldly orders and creation (WA 49; 721, 10). He has no hesitancy in declaring God's creation to be good. His distinction between *res* and *persona* is revealing in this connection (WA 51; 556, 7). Creation, considered as the total creative product, is unconditionally good (*particula deitatis*), but this goodness cannot be transferred, so to speak, from God's account to man's account. It cannot be said of man as a subject who handles and disposes of created things that he is good." (Luther's Conception of Government, *Church History,* Dec., 1946, p. 261.)

Really, God reveals Himself then in two ways. In the Word become flesh and in creation and its orders, both of which, however, constitute a creative activity. Such revelation is, in both cases, in one sense a direct and in another sense an indirect, mediated, hidden revelation. All revelation is indirect, mediated, and hidden. Mortal man cannot see God and live. The fullness of the

Godhead, therefore, dwells bodily in the Man Jesus. (Kierkegaard's absolute paradox.) At the same time this is a direct revelation in the sense that it is God Himself and not some surrogate speaking in this concrete reality. This is the opposite of the scholastic orientation. What is more clearly apparent in the Word made flesh, however, is also so in the case of the revelation in creation. This is both direct and indirect. The real gulf between creator and creature is to be observed. This, as Brunner says, is the basic difference within which all other differences must operate. Yet God is present *in* the creation, which serves as His mask. This is true of the sun and the storm. "He maketh the clouds his chariot, who walketh upon the wings of the wind" (Psalm 104:3). It is true also of the "orders of creation" when *God* speaks, creates, governs, through them. Here in this conception is the dynamite with its demonic as well as its angelic possibilities. It is possible now to confuse creator and creature, and this is, in fact, the sin of all mankind (witness Romans 2), but it does not alter the fact. It is possible to be confronted with the living God in the daily situation in no other way.

The doctrine of creation must not be conceived in deistic or orthodox scholastic fashion as referring to an act of the past, when God as the first cause brought a process into being. If creation is so conceived we will look in vain for certain orders as being present in the first creation. It will not do then, either, biblicistically to go to the first chapter of Genesis and expect to find recorded there the institution of the family, the economic order, the state, the various cultural orders, although, correctly understood, the whole biblical orientation does make clear the supralapsarian character of all the orders. The monogamous family is there. Work is there and an incipient division of labor.

"Yet in order that he (Adam) might not be idle, God gave him something to do, to plant the garden, to dress and keep it." (WA VII, 31, 34.)[2]

The state is there inasmuch as already in the family there is

2 See also WA XX, 152, 6 ff., WA XXVII; 361, 9 ff., where it is stressed that a man cannot be in the right God-relationship unless he works.

inherent the distinction between ruler and ruled. The origin of the various arts as actually recorded in Genesis is infralapsarian, but there is nothing to indicate that this is the result of the fall, inasmuch as the command to subdue and rule the earth was supralapsarian. Nevertheless this does not seem to be the best approach. But as already indicated, creation must be dynamically conceived. Creation is not an act of the past but it is God's activity now. It refers to the creative way in which God brings forth all things out of nothing constantly and continues to sustain them so that they do not disappear into the nothingness from which they came, like the light of a candle when it is extinguished by a vagrant breeze. It refers also to the creative way in which God brings order out of chaos and governs his world and makes it possible for men to live together in community and finally also in the right God-relationship.

It is at this point that the "orders" come in.

> "All created orders are masks or allegories with which God illustrates his theology; they are, as it were, to contain Christ" (WA XL, I; 463, 9).

Here the distinction to which Werner Elert (*Das Christliche Ethos,* pp. 110 ff.) points is most significant. Elert distinguishes between: 1) A *Tatbestand* or *Seinsgefüge,* that is, an actual existing situation in which there is already a certain order of arrangement, as, e.g., the arrangement of furniture in a household where everything is in its proper place for the purpose of living; 2) A *Ranggefüge* and *Zeitfüge,* i.e., an order of rank which also involves an order of time, as, e.g., the patients lined up in order in a doctor's office; 3) A *Vorschrift* or *Sollgefüge,* i.e., an issued order which gives directions in a given situation or simply states how things ought to be. It is Elert's contention that it has been the greatest misinterpretation of Luther to identify Luther's view with 3 instead of 1. This appears to me now to be correct, but then the other misinterpretation must also be avoided, according to which any given order of society is identified with the "order of creation."

For Luther, Elert insists, the order of creation is not some ideal state which ought to be and which still needs to be brought

into being. It is something which already always is. It is clearest with respect to the family. This is not something a man can evade or change, least of all, does he have to bring it into being. Every person born into the world is either male or female. Without going back to first origins, at any given moment every person *is* either a parent or a child. Beyond that he is also already either ruler or ruled. By the limitations of his capacities as well as by the situation in which he finds himself, everyone also has a place assigned to him in the economic order. Of course, they are personal relations, involving the freedom of the person. They can, therefore, at any time be broken, but it must be clear that they need not first be legislated, as e.g., in the ten commandments. The ten commandments presuppose the structure of the "orders of creation." They are the presupposition of all legislation as part of God's creative and gubernatorial activity. They constitute, therefore, to cite Elert, *ein creatorisches oder gubernatorisches Seinsgefüge,* i.e., "a creative or governing order of being."

> "There is, therefore, this great glory with which the divine majesty invests us, that he works through us in such a way that he says that our word is his word and our actions are his actions, so that he can in truth say: The mouth of the pious teacher is the mouth of God, the hand which you reach out in order to relieve the brother's need is the hand of God" (XLIII: 70, 5-9).

This should avoid the mistake of supposing that Luther conceived of the stations of life as certain classes in society. Nothing could have been further from his intention. Quoting Elert again: "The stations are for Luther never different classes of society as has been understood before and after him even to this day. They are standing places (*Standorte*) to which we have been called in order to fulfill God's commands" (*op. cit.*, p. 115).

Luther's three-fold division of the orders is well known, *status economicus, status politicus, status ecclesiasticus.* According to Elert (*Morphologie des Luthertums,* II) Luther uses the words "station" and "calling" interchangeably and yet they are not synonymous. The "stations" are transubjective orders and become "callings" in so far as the individual is permanently assigned to the one or the other and personally obligated.

This may or may not be regarded as an exhaustive enumeration. In a sense it is all-inclusive—family, state, church. Then, however, all three must be given considerable scope. The family is the household, including the servants. It is that sphere of activity in which a man provides all the necessities of livelihood. For our purpose, of course, it is better to separate the family from the economic order, although there is some merit in keeping the tie-up, so as to show the real interdependence, and to make clear that family life and economic activity are not separable. This should be apparent today when the economic conditions contribute so tremendously to the breakdown of the family. No economic order which breaks down the family really conforms to the order of creation.

The *status politicus* would include the whole order of government, which provides the framework of justice within which the other orders function. The third order is that of the churches, including not only the clergy, the monks and nuns and members of ecclesiastical orders, but including also the laymen, the hearers of the Word as well as the preachers. This should already show that these are not separate classes of society because every Christian is always a member of all three classes. So, e.g., each man is either father or son, at the same time he is either a producer in the economic sphere in some capacity or he is a receiver (the baby in the cradle, which also puts demands upon the economic order—considerable in some cases!), at the same time he is also either ruler or ruled, he is either a preacher or a hearer.

Luther speaks clearly of the necessary inequalities in the "orders," which are not to be confused with the equality of all men *coram deo* (before God): "For neither are all able to be kings, leaders, statesmen, rich or free (of noble birth), since the world cannot exist without a variety of different persons, however true it may be that before God there can be no respect of persons but all are equal; nevertheless, in the world respect of persons and inequalities are necessary. This is necessary for the very reason that evil men may be restrained and the peace be kept,

which cannot be done where all people are equal and undifferentiated" (WA XIV; 655, 29 ff.).

It is precisely in these places, where God has put him, that his obedience to God's command must become clear to him. Here the directness and, at the same time, the mediacy of God's speaking to man must become clear. God does not speak to man through some mystic voice from heaven.

"Not indeed through an angel from heaven, but through the ordinary power" (WA XLIII; 106, 17-19).

"Indeed, these things are written for our example that we may learn to depend upon the invisible God and submit to him, because we have a word that can be understood as the bridge to the invisible and incomprehensible God. Let us so order our life that we will apprehend our invisible creator only in word and sacraments. Yet also in the parents and superiors, through whom this life is governed through the word" (XLIII; 555, 11-17). "Therefore God speaks to us and deals with us through the ministers of the Word, through parents and superiors, lest we be carried about by every wind of doctrine. Let children listen to their parents, let the citizens listen to the magistrate, let the Christian listen to the elder and the ministers of the Word, let the pupil listen to the teacher. Outside of this Word all life is damned and all conduct doomed. But if the Word is present, I have sure consolation: whether I am a father, mother or son, I hear the word and I know what I ought to believe and do for God speaks to me in that very station of life in which I happen to live." (XLIII, 478, 8-15).[3]

A man does not have to put himself into a trance on a distant mountain top in order to discover the will of God for him. All he has to do is to listen at the place where he is. To the traveler on the way from Jerusalem to Jericho God speaks through the groans of the man fallen among the thieves. To the husband God speaks through his wife, and vice versa. To the father God speaks through his son, and vice versa.

"We must, therefore, impress it upon the young that they should regard their parents in God's stead, and remember that however lowly, poor, frail and queer they may be, nevertheless they are father and mother given them

3 See also XII, 235, 30-34; 238, 10-14, 29-36.

by God. And they are not to be deprived of their honor because of their mode of life or their failings. Therefore we are not to regard their persons, how they may be, but the will of God who has thus appointed and ordained. In other respects we are, indeed, all alike in the eyes of God; but among these must necessarily be such inequality and distinction with respect to order, and therefore God commands that you be careful to obey me as your father, and that I have the preference." (Explanation of the Fourth Commandment, Large Catechism, *Book of Concord,* p. 405 f.)

To the ruler God speaks through the subject, and vice versa. To the merchant God speaks through the buyer, and vice versa. To the manager God speaks through the laborer, and vice versa. When Luther counsels men how they are to examine themselves prior to confession, he says, "Here consider your station, whether you be father, son, master, mistress, servant, whether in these relations you have been unfaithful, slothful, neglected, wasted ought or done other harm."

All useful occupations are divinely ordained. "Therewith He also approves all skills, classes, and trades that can be found under such secular authority, whatever they may be called; He approves them insofar as they are honest and laudable according to their own local law, be it burgher, peasant, cobbler, tailor, scribe, horseman, master, servant, etc. For without these classes (says Ecclesiastes) a city or country cannot exist. Therefore we ought to know that such classes are not in themselves opposed to God; and we should not give them up, simply because we want to serve God, or to crawl into a monastery, or to join some other sects. Yes, indeed, all classes are instituted by God to serve Him through the word in Genesis 3: 'Thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy nose.' That word He wants to have kept." (WA XXXI, I, 234). So Luther brings the will of God directly into a man's life.

If at this point it should already appear as though this means a glorification of authority, subservience to the ruler, a general stratification of inviolable orders and fixation of the status quo, then the above referred to reciprocity should not be overlooked. God may speak through the ruler—but God also speaks through the ruled. This is the necessary curb upon any undue presumption.

Luther on innumerable occasions admonishes parents and superiors. What is here said of them would also apply to those in authority in management. "In addition, it would not be amiss to preach to the parents, and such as bear their office, as to how they should deport themselves toward those who are committed to them for their government. For although this is not expressed in the Ten Commandments, it is nevertheless abundantly enjoined in many places in the Scriptures. And God desires to have it embraced in this commandment when he speaks of father and mother. For he does not wish to have in this office and government knaves and tyrants; nor does he assign to them this honor, viz., power and authority to govern, and to allow themselves to be worshipped; but they should consider that they are under obligations of obedience to God; and that first of all they are earnestly and faithfully to discharge the duties of their office, not only to support and provide for the bodily necessities of their children, servants, subjects, etc., but especially to train them to the honor and praise of God. Therefore do not think that this is appointed for thy pleasure and arbitrary will; but that it is a strict command and institution of God, to whom also thou must give account of the matter." (*Book of Concord,* p. 414, 167-169.)

Luther also allows for new departures and the trying of new paths. He felt, however, that the instruments of change should be heroic individuals rather than the revolt of the masses. "The laws are indeed to be taught and kept, but God, in order to demonstrate his power and wisdom, does many things counter to the rule through heroic individuals" (XLIII, 62, 35-63, 1).

The thrust of the whole orientation is to combat secularism (precisely defined as the recognition of only one *saeculum*). There can on this view be no *profane* realm. This was significant for Luther in view of the medieval, scholastic bifurcation. It is doubly significant today, and there has been no more disastrous misinterpretation of Luther than the one which made the God-relation a private, personal affair and then turned over all the affairs of state and business, so to speak, to the devil.

For Luther, work in a station is a sacred thing. "You are a

married man and you work in order that you can bring up your family honestly, listen to what that work of yours is: It is a most holy thing, in which God delights and through which he wishes to give you his blessing. This praise of work ought to be written upon the tools of every workman, upon the brow and the nose asweat with labor, for the world does not judge work to be a blessing and, therefore, flees and hates it. (EA—opp. egg. 20, 121.)

"What is all our work in the field, in the garden, in the city, in the house, in battle, in ruling—what is it before God other than the work of children, whereby God wishes to bestow his gifts in the field, the home and everywhere? They are the masks of our Lord, in which he wishes to be hidden and wishes to do everything. . . . God gives everything freely, but you have to take hold and grab the ox by the horns, i.e., you must work and thereby give God his opportunity and provide the mask" (WA XXXI, 1; 436, 7).[4]

European theologians seem to be convinced that the crux of reform lies in the proper interpretation of the two kingdoms. This is relevant to a doctrine of work and vocation. The most vexatious problem the honest Christian faces is the one of how he shall fulfill the divine command of love once he has been possessed by its unconditional claim upon him. As a man engages in the work of the world, he is immediately caught in innumerable conflicts of duties. There are the conflicts between the obligation to members of the family and those outside in the office or on the street, conflicts between friendship and duty (cf. e.g., Melville's play), etc. If one is guided by principles, the conflicts, of course, multiply and a hierarchy of values is sought. This, however, offers small solace if you must say with Fichte, "If my wife must die of the truth, let her die," or end up with a highest principle that the end justifies the means. The sharpest conflict seems to arise when the unconditional love command, as we see it in Jesus, embracing all men and reaching into the innermost depths of the being, is apprehended. How shall this love be practiced in the world in which we live? How shall I engage in any occupation, be it that of ruler, soldier, lawyer,

4 See also the Large Catechism, Explanation of the 4th Commandment on the joy of obedient service—*Book of Concord*, p. 411, 143-148.

doctor, banker, grocer, etc., and not be torn to shreds with an uneasy conscience? Can I then tone down the Christian demand and end up with a superficial, Rotarian, good-fellow ethic of enlightened self interest? Can I adopt a double standard such as the Romans advocated with the counsels of perfection reserved for a few? Or must I adopt the kind of double standard attributed to Luther?

What was Luther's answer? World flight was tried, but Luther and others (Kierkegaard, e.g.) have shown the impossibility of such an expedient. You cannot flee the world. You take it with you; it is part of your destiny. Luther's answer is his doctrine of the two kingdoms in strict connection with his conception of the orders. In fact, they are inseparable. Both of these kingdoms are one. That must be the unshakable starting point. They must never be merged but must be held completely distinct. This is the second pillar. At the same time they must be made co-ordinate, one never being subordinated to the other. They are two ways which God has of dealing in his creative goodness with men, who are sinful. The kingdom on the right hand is the kingdom in which the believer finds forgiveness in Christ. This is the *locus justificationis.* It is where the Gospel rules completely and unambiguously.

Here Luther employs many terms. Törnvall lists: *regnum dei proprie, regnum dei, regnum fidei, Reich Gottes, ecclesia, vocatio mediata, sanctitas specialis, justitia coelistis, verbum creatum, das Wort, Evangelium, Regnum Christi, benedictio spiritualis, regnum coelistis, regimen spirituale, Kirchenregiment, Christlich kirch, Christlich regiment, Predigtamt, Hörreich.*

It is upon this last term, *Hörreich,* that Törnvall puts the chief emphasis as over against the kingdom on the left hand, which is the *Sehreich.* In the right-hand kingdom man need, so to speak, only listen. Here he is only the recipient, never the co-worker with God. Here all is of grace. If we focus on the concept of righteousness, the contrast with the other kingdom may perhaps stand out. Here the righteousness is altogether the righteousness of God, that strange and foreign righteousness, with which the sinner is clothed. Here, in faith, a man possesses forgiveness, life and salvation. Here is the new man who is restored to the right God-re-

lationship, who therefore reflects the true image of God in righteousness and holiness (Colossians 3:10, Ephesians 4:24). Here the old man is by daily sorrow and repentance drowned and put to death with all sins and evil lusts and a new man daily comes forth and arises who shall live before God in righteousness and purity forever. (Luther's Small Catechism: On baptism) This life is nurtured by Word and sacrament. Without forgetting the dialectic of the human response to God's approach, man's own audacious "yes" to God's promises, yet no vestige of Pelagianism is to be introduced here. These experiences are, of course, inner experiences, but they do not now result in a private versus a public morality. The love that is experienced here is the love which the Christian knows that he is called upon to practice in the place where God has put him.

This place where God has put man is God's kingdom, too. It is the same kingdom, but on the left hand, where the actual living together of men under the conditions of sin is now taken into account.

"This is what the law says. It is, to be sure, also our Lord's kingdom, but it consists of a temporal law and rule, but God wants it to be kept; it is the kingdom with the left hand" (WA XXXVI, 385, 6).

"We call the creatures of God good, the political order is a creature of God; to have a wife, goods, houses, these are a divine blessing, but in their proper place" (WA XL, I, 395, 3).

These orders are abused when false confidence is put in them.

"God indeed has given all his creatures in order that they may prove useful but not in worship and religion. . . . . So I enjoy bread, wine, clothing, I enjoy all the creatures of God, but I ought not to fear them, to put my trust in them or glory in them." (WA XL, I, 176, 1.)

"What God has commanded that must not be made unclean, because it is the purity in which one sees God. So when a judge exercises his office and condemns a criminal to death, this is not his, but God's office and doing; therefore it is a good, pure and holy deed." (WA XXXVI, 324, 25.)

Here the demonic forces are at work. Luther stresses many times how those who hold the offices pervert them. The offices, which the princes and other officials occupy, are divine and right, but those who occupy those offices are usually the devils. (WA LI, 254, 9-17) Yet it is clear that the benedictio in the orders is greater than the maledictio. "You will find more good things than bad ones; you will see also that a very small part is subjected to the will of the devil." (WA XLIV: 67, 7-20; also 68, 1-6, 40-69; XXXII, 470-22-26.) In a sense Luther is an optimist concerning nature and a pessimist concerning man. ". . . The rays shining forth from the divine word, with which God adorns the economic, political, and ecclesiastical orders" (WA XLIII, 140, 35-141, 3).

Here the great cosmic struggle is in process, but here, God has built himself bulwarks against the machinations of the evil one whereby he means to preserve and govern his people. (*"Tres enim hierarchias ordinavit Deus contra diabolum scilicet oeconomiam, politiam et ecclesiam." Disputationen,* p. 539)[5] Here God's law rules, but this law is not the classical law of nature. It is the Torah, i.e., the command of the living God and is in the final analysis identical with the law of love as the Christian will discern.

> "This is also what Paul does in Romans 13 when he sums up the whole law of Moses in the command of love, which is also what the natural law teaches: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself'" (WA VI, 60, 7 ff.).

Here the *Seinsgefüge* of which we spoke before is an actual fact and men are born into it. Here the business of living, propagating, eating, drinking, creating, building, etc., goes on under the form of this world.

This kingdom is in a sense independent of the coming of Christ: "The world in its kingdom has been well enough ordered by our Lord so that it was not necessary that God should send his Son into our poor flesh that he should shed his blood for the sake of the physical, earthly kingdom. Because that kingdom was constituted beforehand through parents and governments" (XLVII, 242, 20-24).

5 See also WA 26, 505, 11, 43, 140, 37; WA 47, 853, 35.

Here man is God's cooperator, through whom alone God's will is accomplished. Sometimes also man is God's unwitting and unwilling instrument when God uses him to achieve his purposes. "God rules the earth through good and bad princes" (WA LXIV 248, 21-24).

Here man, as he obeys God's will, does actually achieve a righteousness, which, however, is not to be confused with the imputed righteousness in *loco justificationis*.

Statements such as the following must be understood in the light of the distinction between the two kingdoms and the ever present reality of sin: "So I have often taught that one should not and cannot govern the world according to the Gospel and Christian love, but according to strict laws with the sword and force" (WA XV 306, 24 ff.).

Lau's summary statement concerning the use of force is as follows: "Herein, in this love which becomes effective with the fist we have Luther's teaching concerning force. [It is the part of love to administer the laws strictly and without pity. . . . Again it is the part of love that the rigor of the laws should be remitted with equity]" (WA XIV, 686, 9-140).[6] We feel more than ever Luther's living personality behind his words and come into touch with him himself in the zeal of his love. On the other hand the really decisive thing becomes clear as a matter of plain fact. The duty of love can never be abrogated by the worldly orders, no matter how hard one has tried to read this into Luther. But love becomes efficacious in the orders by passing through its opposite and that quite realistically. Love itself punishes the one whom it punishes actually to his destruction. It protects the one it protects even to the point of death. It murders, throttles, burns. This is not a perversion of love by its object; it is the way of love itself within the actual world as it has been formed by sin. In this peculiarity of love the fact of sin finds its expression within the orders. Because those who need to be protected are sinners, men who are against one another, therefore the struggle of love with

6 See also XLIII, 110, 35-41; XV, 302, 14 ff.; XXVIII, 534, 22-29.

the one against the other. Love which is to rule in the orders takes on the form of its contrary—that is the real expression of its peculiarity. Its distinguishing mark is not that it is not practiced or never practiced in its purity—naturally it is seldom practiced in its purity and often not at all. Even where it is practiced and especially where it is practiced in purity, it can only appear in the dialectic, underneath the mask. All love in the world is involved in this contradiction—that is the deepest insight to which Luther leads us. Perhaps this shows us the way to get at the contradiction between Luther's two kingdoms, not only as a visible and an invisible kingdom, not only as a kingdom of faith and a kingdom of love, but also as a kingdom of peace and a kingdom of force" (Lau, *op. cit.*, 153-154).

The righteousness a man achieves is a civil righteousness (*justitia civilis coram hominibus*). As such it is an actual righteousness, *sed vitiosa*—it is actually vitiated by the fact of man's sinfulness and the whole sinful situation. It, therefore, needs to be covered by the divine forgiveness, but it is a righteousness and man can attain to it without being a Christian. The supposition, therefore (which Toernvall maintains is in Holl), that the only influence the Gospel can have in the realm of the state and the economic order is by making men Christian, is false. Men can, with their God-given reason, attain to a civil righteousness and do the will of God.

> "God does not have to have Christians as magistrates; it is not necessary, therefore, that the ruler be a saint; he does not need to be a Christian in order to rule, it is sufficient that he possess reason" (WA XXVII, 418, 2).

Lau stresses that the independence of the reason must be taken seriously. "It is only when this rationality, this 'humanum' is severed so completely from God that its independence is understood as its being-without-God, that this rationality as a God-relationship can be understood again in the deepest sense as a being-completely-with God and thus the concept of creation can be formulated anew." (Lau: *Äusserliche Ordnung und weltlich Ding*, p. 61)

The real sin of the reason and of all abuse of the orders is *superbia* which cuts itself loose from God and makes claim to a false autonomy. The *ordinatio humana* is severed from the *ordinatio divina.*

There could be a Lincoln who, perhaps, did not make the Christian confession, and who yet possessed a civil righteousness *non pareil.* Man's besetting sin, however, is that in this God-given civil righteousness he cuts himself off from God. He confuses the creature and the creator. He makes himself autonomous. He becomes secularistic. He makes the sphere of his activity profane. The sin of this the Christian prophet must point out, and he must also point out that it is only coming from the kingdom on the right hand that the abuses in the kingdom on the left hand can be properly observed. Contract theories of marriage and of the state stand revealed as man-made perversions. In the economic order Adam Smith's theory as well as the Marxist doctrine both became impossible. Above all the capitalist spirit as well as the pride of power of the labor unions is put under judgment. In God's kingdom this is not to be and those who serve under God in that kingdom will correct it.

Nor is every existing profession to be regarded as legitimate. The criterion was for Luther the service it rendered to the neighbor. (WA VI; 408, 10): ". . . and regard their office as necessary and useful to the Christian community."

"So all works must prove themselves, as when you take a wife so that you do not harm your neighbor through adultery. It is in this way we are to speak of rulers, office holders, artists: they must do everything for the good of the neighbor and for the training of the body so that it does not become a menace to the neighbor through adultery, etc., or so that the body becomes more competent to serve the neighbor" (WA X 3; 107, 38 ff.).

Hoc age, ut inveniaris in statu in quo proximo servis. (WA XXVII; 514, 10)[7]

It will still be their business to operate within the givenness of the sinful reality. They will not be able to rule according to the

7 Also WA XII; 592, 17; XIX, 657, 26.

principles of the Sermon on the Mount. The ruler will have to use force to the punishment of the evil doer (Romans 13). The one engaged in the economic order will have to make it his primary concern in his calling to provide and distribute the goods necessary for a human life. The seeming tragedy of the choices he faces will find their resolution beyond tragedy in forgiveness only, but at the same time the partial resolution of the predicament lies in the calling. God tells the banker that under our economic system he has no right to loan the bank's money without proper security. What he does with his own money, of course, is a different matter. The same love which tells him to loan money to his friend will tell him not to give it to the applicant at the bank. This is not the application of a double standard but is only taking seriously the "calling"—in the kingdom on the left hand.

We have said then that the "orders of creation" are an already existing order through which God creatively rules the world. This is God's kingdom on the left hand in which men by properly conforming to that order attain to a civil righteousness. There is thus no profane sphere and in his daily life a man is called of God to do his will. This will of God is a will of love for all men. The world in which men live, however, is a sinful world and the people in it are sinful. They are rebels. In the world demonic powers strive to frustrate God's will. Man himself is a rebel against God's unconditional will of love and does not practice it. As a result, living together is impossible without the restraints of law, without all kinds of conflicts, the toil of work, the calamities of nature, etc. This imposes upon man the necessity of practicing love in those conditions. He must practice love within the framework of the existing orders and manifests a civil righteousness without ever supposing that this is the righteousness that avails before God. In the kingdom on the right hand he has a different righteousness and here force and sternness have no place. All this is not to result in a fixation of the status quo, but existing evils are always to be corrected. Luther was conservative. There is no doubt about it. But one who sees how he tried to preserve what was good—the existing order (the guilds) as over against

the growing capitalist spirit which violated what for Luther was the order of creation—can appreciate his conservatism as a genuine radicalism which went to the root of the difficulty.[8]

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The Common Hymnal (Part III)

E. E. Ryden

IN TWO previous installments[1] of this pre-view of the Common Lutheran Hymnal we have emphasized the ecumenical character of the new book of worship for which all American Lutheranism is eagerly waiting, and in the preparation of which at least two-thirds of American Lutheranism has been represented. We have touched on the hymns from the classical Greek and Latin treasury cherished by the whole Christian Church. We have also dwelt somewhat briefly on a number of the choice lyrics from Lutheran lands, particularly those which are new to some of our groups. In this installment we wish to present primarily the hymns of English origin, practically all of which have come out of the spiritual soil of the Reformed communions.

We offer no apology for the fact that a large number of hymns in the new collection have come from this latter source. The English-speaking world is predominantly Calvinistic. Most of its great poets and writers have been nurtured in the Reformed tradition. No hymnal published in the English language, therefore, can be considered adequate or satisfactory if it ignores the hymn classics native to our own tongue. The only justifiable criterion for any conscientious hymnal commission to follow in the choice of a hymn should be: Is it Scriptural? Is it Christo-centric? Will it glorify God and edify the worshiper?

Here we are reminded of the utterance of Bishop Anders Nygren at the recent Hannover Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation when he said: "There is no foundation for distinguishing between various types of the Gospel from which each denomination could choose the one that pleases it best. Christ is not di-

1 *The Lutheran Quarterly,* August, 1950, and May, 1952.

vided. There is only one Gospel. The Church has the duty to proclaim the Gospel, the whole Gospel, and nothing but the Gospel."

It is a thrilling experience, therefore, to study the hymn collections of the Universal Church and to discover how believing souls in every communion have given noble expression to the faith once delivered unto the saints, and how the truth of the Gospel has been preserved in the midst of much that is error. Consequently, it becomes an important task of the evangelical hymn editor to redeem the pure gold from the dross, the true from the false. Here it might not be amiss to quote the classic words of Henry Ward Beecher: "Hymns are the jewels which the Church has worn, the pearls, the diamonds, the precious stones, formed into amulets more potent against sorrow and sadness than the most famous charm of the wizard or the magician. And he who knows the way that hymns flowed, knows where the blood of true piety ran, and can trace its veins and arteries to the very heart."

As every student of hymnology knows, the Reformation in Germany marked a revival of congregational song in the Christian worship. Luther was the "Father of Evangelical Hymnody." It was he who brought back the hymn into the stated worship of the Church and made it possible for the voice of the laity to be heard again in the sanctuary after it had been virtually silenced for nearly a thousand years.

Not all of Protestantism, however, was destined to share in this revival of congregational music and song. Wherever the iconoclastic views of Calvin prevailed, ecclesiastical art, vestments, liturgies and musical instruments were frowned on. Even hymns were banned if they were of "human composure." Whereas Luther wrote original hymns and encouraged his colleagues of the "conservative Reformation" to do likewise, Calvin maintained that only the Psalms in the Old Testament were divinely inspired and that this was the hymnbook which God himself had given the Church. The task of the Reformed leaders, therefore, was to render the Psalms into metrical versions in order that they might be sung. Thus, we have the development of what is known as *psalmody* in the Reformed Church as over against *hymnody* in

the Lutheran Church. (It might be a fruitful study to investigate what effect all this may have had in promoting Old Testament legalism among the Puritans in New England and in bringing about the eventual drift of a large segment of Congregationalism into Unitarianism. Certainly the evangelical note was sadly missing in the greater part of the Reformed psalmody, and there was little in it to inculcate trinitarian theology on the mind of the worshiper.)

Most famous among the books of worship of the Reformed Church was the *Genevan Psalter,* which was evolved between the years 1539 and 1562. English refugees in Geneva who had fled the persecutions in their homeland under Bloody Queen Mary soon came under the powerful influence of the Calvinistic worship, and in 1556, while still in Geneva, published the work known as *One and Fiftie Psalmes.* To a later edition of this collection, printed in Geneva in 1561, William Kethe, one of the refugees, contributed twenty-five psalm paraphrases, among them one of the 100th Psalm. Set to the famous tune *Old Hundredth,* by Louis Bourgeois, Kethe's version became immensely popular both in England and Scotland and has been included in many modern hymnals. It seems fitting that this paraphrase, which has become a classic example of the quaint crudeness of English psalmody, should become a part of our new collection:

All people that on earth do dwell,
  Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice;
Him serve with mirth, his praise forth tell,
  Come ye before him, and rejoice.

Know that the Lord is God indeed;
  Without our aid he did us make;
We are his folk, He doth us feed,
  And for his sheep he doth us take.

O enter then his gates with praise;
  Approach with joy his courts unto;
Praise, laud, and bless his Name always,
  For it is seemly so to do.

For why? the Lord our God is good:
His mercy is for ever sure;
His truth at all times firmly stood,
And shall from age to age endure.

Another example of psalmody from the same period is a paraphrase of the Twenty-third Psalm from the *Scottish Psalter*. This famous book of worship, which was first published by returning exiles from Geneva in 1564 and found its final form almost a hundred years later in 1650, contains an anonymous rendering of the Shepherd Psalm which is sometimes ascribed to Francis Rous. It reads:

The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want.
He makes me down to lie
In pastures green; He leadeth me
To quiet waters by.

My soul he doth restore again,
And me to walk doth make
Within the paths of righteousness,
E'en for his own Name's sake.

Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale,
Yet will I fear none ill;
For Thou art with me, and Thy rod
And staff me comfort still.

My table Thou hast furnishèd
In presence of my foes;
My head Thou dost with oil anoint,
And my cup overflows.

Goodness and mercy all my life
Shall surely follow me;
And in God's house for evermore
My dwelling-place shall be.

This version is not intended to supplant Isaac Watts' more familiar "The Lord my Shepherd is," but is included in our col-

lection as a fine example of a famous type of religious lyrics that have played a most significant role in the worship life of the English-speaking people. They carry with them something of an archaic flavor, and they bear witness to a stalwart age in the history of the Church; therefore they have gained for themselves an imperishable niche in the devotional literature of our language. Yet another psalm paraphrase of a slightly later period, "As pants the hart for cooling streams," generally credited to Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady, will also be found in the new hymnal.

Although psalmody for more than two hundred years continued to wield its iron rule in all Protestant groups in England and Scotland—Established Church and non-conformist alike—there were individual souls here and there who could not be satisfied with lyrics that contained so little of an evangelical spirit. Nor could decrees by Parliament prevent men with poetic gifts from expressing their spiritual hopes and aspirations in original verse. While most of the lyrics from this early morn of English hymnody were written primarily for private edification, a number of them, fortunately, have been preserved for posterity and are being included in modern hymnbooks. Some of the writers of these early hymns were obscure parish pastors; others will be recognized as illustrious figures in English literature. Thus, in the very dawn of English hymnody, we meet with such names as George Herbert, John Milton, Richard Baxter, Thomas Ken, John Bunyan and Joseph Addison, all of whom will be represented in the Common Hymnal.

George Herbert, a brilliant scholar and saintly character, lived only to the age of 39, but the parish of Bemerton, near Salisbury, where he served four years as an humble rector, still cherishes an inscription which tells of his concern for the poor. When he died in 1633, he handed a sheaf of poems to a friend with the request that they be published "if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected soul." It is from this collection that we have two hymns, "Let all the world in every corner sing" and "Teach me, my God and King." Although found already in some of our Lutheran hymnals, these hymns will be welcomed by other

groups. "Teach me, my God and King" is sometimes credited to John Wesley, but the latter merely revised some of the stanzas. When Wesley published his first hymnbook in 1737 for his parish in Savannah, Georgia, six of the total number of seventy were from the pen of Herbert. A contemporary, Richard Baxter, bears Herbert this testimony: "I must confess that next to the Scripture poems, there are none so savory to me as Mr. George Herbert's. Herbert speaks to God like one that really believeth in a God, and whose business in the world is most with God."

It is not necessary, of course, to dwell here on the life and works of John Milton. Among the spiritual bards of England, he stands without a peer. Although most of his epics do not lend themselves to use as hymns, our collection will be the richer because of two contributions from his pen, namely, "Let us with a gladsome mind" and "The Lord will come and not be slow." The former hymn is familiar to most Lutherans, but they may not be aware of the fact that it was written when Milton was a boy of 15! The latter is almost a verbal psalm paraphrase, based on portions of Psalms 82, 85 and 86.

Among other early English hymnists who lived and wrought at this time was Samuel Crossman (1624-1683), from whom we have received the poetic gem, "My song is love unknown."

That a hymn of such beautiful Christian resignation as "Lord, it belongs not to my care" should be born out of a life as stormy and turbulent as that of Richard Baxter is one of the miracles of God's grace. This hymn is a cento from a longer poem by the sorely afflicted man bearing the title, "The Covenant and Confidence of Faith," the opening line of which reads, "My whole, though broken heart, O Lord." It was dated "London, at the Door of Eternity: Richard Baxter, August 7, 1671." Despite the fact that the notorious Chief Justice Jeffreys branded this noble Christian warrior as "an old rogue, an old schismatical knave, a hypocritical villain, a conceited, stubborn, fanatical dog, a snivelling Presbyterian," and sent him to jail for eighteen months at the

age of 70 years, Lutherans, as well as other Christians, will never cease to thank God for Richard Baxter when they sing:

Christ leads me through no darker rooms
Than he went through before;
He that into God's kingdom comes
Must enter by this door.

Come, Lord, when grace has made me meet
Thy blessed face to see;
For if Thy work on earth be sweet,
What will Thy glory be?

My knowledge of that life is small,
The eye of faith is dim;
But 'tis enough that Christ knows all,
And I shall be with him.

From Baxter we also have the lovely lyric, "Ye holy angels bright."

We are sure that many of our people will also rejoice over the fact that the voice of the immortal John Bunyan will be heard in the new hymnbook in the sturdy hymn, "He who would valiant be." This is a revision of the poem, "Who would true valour see," taken from the chapter in *Pilgrim's Progress* entitled "Mr. Valiant for Truth." Although it is not quite so vigorous as the original poem, the last line, "To be a pilgrim," which comes as a refrain at the close of each stanza, will be a perpetual reminder of the source of the hymn and its heroic writer.

The two classic morning and evening hymns of the English language—"Awake, my soul, and with the sun" and "All praise to Thee, my God, this night"—are also from this period. Written by good Bishop Thomas Ken, the two hymns share the common distinction of closing with the most famous doxology ever written:

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow;
Praise him, all creatures here below;
Praise him above, ye heavenly host;
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Here we must also mention Joseph Addison, whose rather florid poetry will be represented by the two hymns, "The spacious firmament on high" and "When all thy mercies, O my God." Both are taken from his charming essays which appeared in "The Spectator," and the former, though based on Psalm 19, is an excellent example of how far this literary genius had traveled from the slavish paraphrases of the earlier versifiers of the Psaltery.

The real break with psalmody, of course, came with the immortal Isaac Watts, the "seraphic doctor," to whom is rightly ascribed the title, "Father of English Hymnody." With the appearance of his epoch-making *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* in 1707, the absolute rule of psalmody in the Reformed Churches was broken forever. But Watts was a psalmist as well as a hymnist, as he well demonstrated in *The Psalms of David Imitated in the Language of the New Testament*, published in 1719. The difference was that his psalm paraphrases contained a new evangelical note. Indeed, the Psalms were given such a distinctively Christian flavor that their Old Testament origin is often overlooked. Witness, for example, the opening lines of his version of the 72nd Psalm:

> Jesus shall reign where'er the sun
> Does his successive journeys run;
> His Kingdom stretch from shore to shore,
> Till moons shall wax and wane no more.

To Isaac Watts we are indebted for some of our most glorious hymns. Matthew Arnold pronounced "When I survey the wondrous Cross" the most beautiful hymn in the English language, and most hymn editors will name "O God, our help in ages past" as one of the strongest, loftiest, and most sublime. While it may be true that many of the hymns of Watts are dropping out of modern hymnals, it seems likely that the Common Hymnal will contain more that bear his name than those of any other hymn writer with the exception of Charles Wesley. "Give me the wings of faith to rise," "From all that dwell below the skies," "Come,

let us join our cheerful songs," "Come, we that love the Lord," and "Join all the glorious names" will be new to a number of the Churches co-operating in the hymnal venture, but we are certain they will be gladly welcomed.

Inspired by the example of Watts, another non-Conformist pastor, Philip Doddridge, who was a close friend of the great hymnist, was moved to write hymns for his own congregation in Northampton. There is a definite Scriptural basis for all of Doddridge's hymns, a circumstance that may be explained by the fact that his mother was the orphaned daughter of a Bohemian Lutheran pastor who had been compelled to leave his native land because of persecution. From Doddridge we have received "Hark, the glad sound," "Great God, we sing that mighty hand," "O God of Bethel, by whose hand," and "Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve."

Charles Wesley continues to maintain his high position in the realm of Christian hymnody, and more than a dozen of the soul-stirring lyrics by the "Sweet Bard of Methodism" will be found within the covers of the Common Hymnal. Some of his hymns, such as "Christ, the Lord, is risen today," "Christ, Whose glory fills the skies," "Lo, he comes with clouds descending," "Jesus, Lover of my soul," "Hark, the herald angels sing," and "Love divine, all loves excelling," have become English classics and must be regarded as indispensable in any collection. Four that will be new to some of our groups are "Come, O thou Traveler unknown," "Ye servants of God," "Victim divine, thy grace we claim," and "O for a thousand tongues to sing." The first of these is regarded as one of Wesley's finest poems. John Wesley also will be represented in the new book of worship, but principally by translations from the German. "Author of life divine" is usually credited to both Charles and John.

Thomas Olivers, a disciple of the Wesleys, has given us "The God of Abraham praise," a Christian paraphrase of the famous Jewish "doxology" or *Yigdal,* which was based on a metrical version of the Hebrew Thirteen Articles of Faith written in 1404 by Rabbi Daniel ben Judah Dayyam. There is something overwhelm-

ingly majestic and soul-stirring in this sublime hymn of praise. Olivers, who served as a circuit preacher for a quarter of a century, is said to have written his paraphrase after having been deeply impressed by its singing in the Great Synagogue in London. The hymn will be new to several Lutheran groups, but we are persuaded that it will be a real contribution to our Hymnal.

Harking from the period of the Wesleyan revival are also the so-called *Olney* hymns by William Cowper and John Newton. Newton will be represented in our hymnal by "Approach, my soul, the mercy seat," "Come, my soul, thy suit prepare," "Glorious things of thee are spoken," "One there is above all others," "Safely through anoher week," and "How sweet the name of Jesus sounds," while Cowper will have four lyrics—"There is a fountain filled with blood," "God moves in a mysterious way," "O for a closer walk with God" and "Sometimes a light surprises." The latter is more familiarly known among Lutherans under the title, "In holy contemplation." Much criticism has been heard in the Commission relative to the stark realism in "There is a fountain filled with blood," but the hymn thus far has survived every attack.

Other hymns from the same period are "Christians, awake, salute the happy morn" by the English physician, John Byrom; "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah" by the Welsh evangelist, William Williams, and "All hail the power of Jesus' name" by Edward Perronet. These, of course, are quite familiar to most of us.

The Baptist, John Fawcett, who also lived during these stirring days of spiritual revival in England, has given us two hymns, namely: "Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing" and "Blest be the tie that binds." Another Baptist, Samuel Stennett, is the author of the lovely lyric, "Majestic sweetness sits enthroned." From the Quaker poet, Bernard Barton, we have the hymn, "Walk in thy light, so shalt thou know."

The nineteenth century did not produce any English hymn writers comparable to Watts or Charles Wesley, and yet we encounter such distinguished names as Reginald Heber, John Keble, James Montgomery, Henry Francis Lyte, Sir John Bowring,

Thomas Kelly, Charlotte Elliott, John Mason Neale, Frederick William Faber, Mrs. Cecil Frances Alexander, Christopher Wordsworth, William Walsham How, John Ellerton, Horatius Bonar, Frances Ridley Havergal, Dean Henry Alfred, Sabine Baring-Gould, and Edward Henry Bickersteth.

Of course, the name of none will appear more often than that of the Moravian Brethren newspaper editor, James Montgomery. To him we are indebted for "According to thy gracious word," "Songs of praise the angels sang," "Angels from the realms of glory," "Lift up your heads, ye gates of brass," "Hail to the Lord's Anointed," "Forever with the Lord," "In the hour of trial," "Go to dark Gethsemane," "Shepherd of souls, refresh and bless," "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire," "O pour thy Spirit from on high," and "Spirit of the living God." Although Montgomery is not regarded by some as a great poet, his hymns seem to have a heart appeal that give them extraordinary vitality.

Three hymns by the Irish Anglican, Thomas Kelly, will be found in our collection, two of them for Ascension Day. "The head that once was crowned with thorns" is quite familiar to most Lutherans, but not so well known is "Look, ye saints, the sight is glorious," a hymn which is winning increased recognition in many communions. Kelly's third hymn in our collection is "We sing the praise of him who died."

In dealing with Sir John Bowring, we meet a man whose life was filled with inexplicable paradoxes. The revolt which we are now witnessing in the Orient against western imperialism has undoubtedly been brought on to a large extent by the white man's cupidity and arrogance, and, strange to say, one of those largely responsible for sowing the early seeds of hatred and strife was none other than the man who gave the Church two of its immortal hymns, "In the cross of Christ I glory" and "God is love, his mercy brightens." Many Christians wonder that a Unitarian could write a hymn that glorifies the cross of Christ, but they would marvel the more if they knew that the man who wrote so movingly about the love of God was probably more responsible than any other person for the second Opium War, a conflict which

forged so strongly the chains of vice which enslaved an unhappy and poverty-stricken people and made more sure Britain's unholy commercial and political domination in the East. We feel that our collection would not have suffered too much if one of Sir Bowring's weaker hymns, "Watchman, tell us of the night," had been omitted. Except for the last two lines, it lacks most of the qualities of a true hymn. Unfortunately, a much better hymn, "God is love, his mercy brightens," on the other hand, was found to be dispensable.

Reginald Heber, the missionary bishop of the Anglican Church who has been immortalized in Christian hymnody by his "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God almighty," "From Greenland's icy mountains," "The Son of God goes forth to war," and "Brightest and best of the sons of the morning," will make yet another contribution to our new collection with his exquisite evening hymn, "God that madest earth and heaven." Heber actually wrote only the first stanza of this lovely lyric; the second is a free translation of a Latin antiphon by Archbishop Richard Whatley of Dublin. Undoubtedly the traditional Welsh melody, *Ar hyd y nos,* commonly known as "All through the night," is largely responsible for the popularity which this hymn has gained. Heber's communion hymn, "Bread of the world, in mercy broken," also will be new in some of our Lutheran circles. This is spiritual poetry of the highest order combined with deep devotion:

Bread of the world in mercy broken,
Wine of the soul in mercy shed,
By Whom the words of life were spoken,
And in Whose death our sins are dead;

Look on the heart by sorrow broken,
Look on the tears by sinners shed;
And be thy feast to us the token
That by thy grace our souls are fed.

One of Heber's life-long friends, Henry Hart Milman, dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, has given us two hymns, namely,

"Ride on! ride on in majesty" and "When our heads are bowed with woe."

Many of our Lutheran groups will be happy to learn that John Keble's exquisite morning hymn, "New every morning is the love," will not be missing when they open the pages of the Common Hymnal. And perhaps they will memorize the classic lines of the last three stanzas:

> Old friends, old scenes, will lovelier be,
> As more of heaven in each we see;
> Some softening gleam of love and prayer
> Shall dawn on every cross and care.
>
> The trivial round, the common task
> Will furnish all we ought to ask;
> Room to deny ourselves, a road
> To bring us daily nearer God.
>
> Only, O Lord, in Thy dear love,
> Fit us for perfect rest above;
> And help us, this and every day,
> To live more nearly as we pray.

Of course, Keble's evening hymn, "Sun of my soul, thou Saviour dear," will likewise be found in the collection, as well as his less known "Blest are the pure in heart."

It hardly needs to be stated that Henry Francis Lyte also will be represented by his four famous hymns—"Abide with me, fast falls the eventide," "Praise, my soul, the King of heaven," "Pleasant are thy courts above," and "Jesus, I my cross have taken." All of these are common to most of our Lutheran hymnals, and we refer to them here merely to reassure those who might wonder about their fate.

In the second installment of this series we referred to the Oxford Movement, which carried a number of England's most brilliant scholars into the Church of Rome, noting the fact that a large number of Greek and Latin hymns found their way into the English language as a result of the literary efforts of these men. Some original hymns also came from gifted poets caught

up in the movement. Foremost among these, of course, is "Lead, Kindly Light," by none other than Cardinal Newman himself, one of Rome's most famous proselytes. Although the hymn was written twelve years before Newman took his fateful step, Lutherans have been reluctant to include it in their collections. "It is somewhat hard," as William T. Stead once caustically observed, "for the staunch Protestant to wax enthusiastic over the invocation of a 'Kindly Light' which led the author straight into the arms of the Scarlet Woman of the Seven Hills." Nevertheless, the Joint Commission on a Common Hymnal seemed to be unanimous that the hymn should be included. The famous tune by Dr. John B. Dykes to which it is sung has undoubtedly been largely responsible for its widespread acceptance, although it cannot be denied that the hymn possesses real poetic qualities and breathes a spirit of deep devotion. From Newman we also have "Praise to the Holiest in the height."

In this same category of hymns in our collection by Anglican Romanists are: Frederick William Faber's "Most ancient of all mysteries," "Faith of our fathers, living still," "O paradise, O paradise," "O come and mourn with me awhile," "My God, how wonderful thou art," "Hark, hark, my soul, angelic songs are swelling," and "There's a wideness in God's mercy"; Matthew Bridges' "My God, accept my heart this day," "Crown him with many crowns" and "Behold, the Lamb of God"; Henry Collins' 'Jesus, my Lord, my God, my all," and Adelaide Anne Proctor's "My God, I thank thee, who hast made."

John Mason Neale's extraordinary contribution to Christian hymnody, as we pointed out in the first article in this series, consisted in his translation of the Greek and Latin classics. We have, however, at least two original hymns in our collection from his pen, namely, "O thou, Who by a star didst guide" and "Blessed Saviour, Who hast taught me." "Art thou weary, art thou laden?" may also be regarded as an original, although inspired by one of the Mar Saba lyrics. While Neale was warmly sympathetic toward some of the high church aspects of the Oxford Movement, he never forsook the Anglican communion.

On the other hand, Edward Caswall, another great translator of Latin hymn classics, followed Newman into the bosom of the Church of Rome. He has won a permanent place in English hymnody by his beautiful English versions of the Latin "Jesus, the very thought of thee," and "Jesus, King most wonderful," and the Spanish "My God, I love thee, not because." All of these will be found in our collection.

The beloved scholar, Dean Henry Alford, will make his contribution to our Lutheran worship with "Ten thousand times ten thousand," "Forward! be our watchword," and "Come, ye thankful people, come," which have become "must" hymns in the opinion of most hymn editors.

No less than nine hymns in our new collection will bear the name of Bishop Christopher Wordsworth, nephew of the great poet, William Wordsworth, from whom, no doubt, he received much help and inspiration, at least during his earlier years. Here are the nine: "Blest are the moments, doubly blest," "Songs of thankfulness and praise," "See the Conqueror mounts in triumph," "Hark! the sound of holy voices," "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts," "Gracious Spirit, Holy Ghost," "O day of rest and gladness," "O Lord of heaven, and earth and sea," and "Alleluia! alleluia! hearts to heaven."

The voice of another Anglican bishop will also be heard in our worship when American Lutherans join in singing William Walsham How's inspiring lyrics. Perhaps no hymn is sung more frequently in Protestant churches as an offertory than "We give thee but thine own," and certainly All Saints' Day is not complete unless we sing his glorious

> For all the saints who from their labors rest,
> Who thee by faith before the world confessed,
> Thy Name, O Jesus, be for ever blest. Alleluia!

Equally well known is his gripping lyric, "O Jesus, thou are standing." Four others from his pen in the collection are "O one with God the Father," "O Word of God incarnate," "Jesus, Name of wondrous love," and "O holy Lord, content to fill."

Few Englishmen have made a greater contribution to the hymnody of their country than did Sir Henry William Baker. It was he who became the moving spirit in the preparation and publication in 1861 of *Hymns Ancient and Modern,* which still holds first rank among English hymnals. To this work Sir Baker contributed a number of original hymns, translations, and even hymn tunes. From his pen we will find in our collection "Praise, O praise, our God and King," "The King of Love my Shepherd is," "O God of Love, O King of peace," and "O perfect life of love."

Another outstanding hymnologist of this period, Richard Mant, has given us two hymns—"For all thy saints, O Lord" and "Round the Lord in glory seated."

Yet another Anglican who revealed a consuming interest in hymnody was Canon John Ellerton. It is said of him that "his hand may be traced in every hymnbook of importance during the last thirty years before his death." His contribution to the Common Hymnal consists of five hymns: "The day thou gavest, Lord," "Saviour, again to thy dear Name we raise," "Behold us, Lord, a little space," "God the omnipotent One! King who ordainest," and "Now the laborer's task is o'er."

An English Baptist clergyman, Cornelius Elven, has given us the repentance hymn, "With broken heart and contrite sigh."

Scotland's greatest spiritual bard, Horatius Bonar, has lost something of the popularity he enjoyed in the hymnals of a generation ago. However, at least four of his hymns have survived in our new collection. They are: "I heard the voice of Jesus say," "Blessing and honor and glory and power," "I lay my sins on Jesus," and "Here, O my Lord, I see thee face to face." The latter, a communion hymn, will be welcomed by Lutheran groups who have not used it heretofore, especially because of the joyous eucharistic note which is heard against an unusually solemn and impressive background:

> Here would I feed upon the bread of God;
> Here drink with thee the royal wine of heaven;
> Here would I lay aside each earthly load,
> Here taste afresh the calm of sin forgiven.

This is the hour of banquet and of song,
This is the heavenly table spread for me;
Here let me feast, and, feasting, still prolong
The brief bright hour of fellowship with thee.

Mine is the sin, but thine the righteousness;
Mine is the guilt, but thine the cleansing blood;
Here is my robe, my refuge, and my peace:
Thy blood, thy righteousness, O Lord, my God.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a large number of poetic souls in England essayed to enrich the hymnody of the Church. Many of them, however, are chiefly remembered because of a single lyric. Thus, our new hymnal will contain John Hampden Gurney's "Lord, as to thy Cross we flee"; Edward Mote's "My hope is built on nothing less"; John Ernest Bode's "O Jesus, I have promised"; Edward Osler's "O God unseen, yet ever near"; Henry Twells' "At even when the sun was set"; Samuel John Stone's "The Church's one foundation"; William Dalrymple Maclager's "The saints of God, their conflict past," "Be still, my soul, for God is near," and "O God of mercy, God of might"; Godfrey Thring's "I heard a sound of voices," "The radiant morn hath passed away," "Thou to whom the sick and dying," and "Saviour, blessed Saviour"; Edward Henry Bickersteth's "Peace perfect peace" and "O God, the Rock of Ages"; William Chatterton Dix's "As with gladness men of old," "What Child is this?" and "Come unto me, ye weary"; William Whiting's "Eternal Father, strong to save"; Somerset Corry Lowry's "Son of God, eternal Saviour"; Francis Pott's "Angel voices ever singing"; John Samuel Monsell's "On our way rejoicing" and "Fight the good fight with all thy might"; Lewis Hensley's "Thy Kingdom come, O God"; Folliott Sandford Pierpont's "For the beauty of the earth"; Edward Hayes Plumptre's "Thy hand, O God, has guided," "Thine arm, O Lord, in days of old," and "Rejoice, ye pure in heart"; George Croly's "Spirit of God, descend upon my heart"; Charles Kingsley's "From thee all skill and science flow"; William Romanis' "Round me falls the night"; Walter

Chalmers Smith's "Immortal, invisible, God only wise"; George Matheson's "Make me a captive, Lord" and "O Love that wilt not let me go"; Robert Walmsley's "The sun declines, o'er land and sea"; Rudyard Kipling's recessional hymn, "God of our fathers, known of old," and Edwin Hatch's deeply devotional lyric:

Breathe on me, Breath of God,
Fill me with life anew,
That I may love what thou dost love,
And do what thou wouldst do.

Breathe on me, Breath of God,
Until my heart is pure,
Until with thee I will one will,
To do or to endure.

Breathe on me, Breath of God,
Till I am wholly thine,
Till all this earthly part of me
Glows with thy fire divine.

Breathe on me, Breath of God;
So shall I never die;
But live with thee the perfect life
Of thine eternity.

Here we should also mention William Bright, who has given us two unusually fine hymns, "And now, O Father, mindful of the love" and "At thy feet, O Christ, we lay"; nor must we forget Robert Bridges, English poet laureate, whose *Yattendon* Hymnal, published in 1899, was another milestone in the development of English hymnody. To this unusually gifted scholar, poet and musician, we are indebted for some of our finest translations of Greek, Latin, and German hymns. Among these are: "O gladsome light, O grace," "O Splendor of God's glory bright," "Ah, holy Jesus, how hast thou offended," "The duteous day now closeth," "Fear not, thou faithful Christian flock," and "When morning gilds the skies."

We have purposely refrained until now to pay tribute to the

large number of gifted, consecrated English women who have dedicated their God-given talents to the task of enriching the worship life of the Church. We rather suspect that no other country has produced as many great hymns written by women as have the British Isles. Lack of space forbids us from going into detail, but here are some of the outstanding women hymn-writers of Britain and the contributions they have made to our Common Hymnal:

Anne Steele: "Father of mercies, in thy word."
Jane Eliza Leeson: "Saviour, teach me day by day."
Charlotte Elliott: "Just as I am without one plea" and "My God, my Father, while I stray."
Cecil Frances Alexander: "There is a green hill far away," "Jesus calls us; o'er the tumult," and "Once in royal David's city."
Dorothy Frances Gurney: "O perfect love, all human thought transcending."
Mary Fowler Maude: "Thine forever, God of love."
Anny Laetitia Waring: "In heavenly love abiding."
Emily Steele Elliott: "Thou didst leave thy throne and thy kingly crown."
Arabella Katherine Hankey: "I love to tell the story."
Frances Ridley Havergal: "Take my life and let it be," "Jesus, Master, whose I am," "Now the light is gone away," "O Saviour, precious Saviour," "Golden harps are sounding," "Thy life was given for me," and "Lord, speak to me, that I may speak."
Sarah Flower Adams: "Nearer, my God, to thee."
Isabel Stevenson: "Holy Father, in thy mercy."
Mary Lundie Duncan: "Jesus, tender Shepherd, hear me."
Caroline Maria Noel: "At the Name of Jesus."
Elizabeth Douglas Clephane: "Beneath the Cross of Jesus."
Jemima Thompson Luke: "I think when I read that sweet story of old."
Christina Georgina Rossetti: "Love came down at Christmas" and "In the bleak mid-winter."

Recognition must also be given here to a number of brilliant women of England and Scotland whose translations of German hymns was epoch-making in that they introduced to the English-speaking world for the first time some of the finest classics from the rich treasury of Lutheran hymnody. One of the first of these translators was Frances Elizabeth Cox of Oxford, who in

1841 published a volume known as *Sacred Hymns from the German.* From her we have received a number of fine translations, among them Schütz's "All praise to God who reigns above."

Evidently inspired by Miss Cox's example, two Scottish sisters, Jane Laurie Borthwick and Sarah Borthwick Findlater, collaborated in bringing out in 1854 their celebrated work, *Hymns from the Land of Luther.* This was followed in 1857 by a second collection of translations bearing the title, *Thoughts for Thoughtful Hours.* Although it is difficult to distinguish the individual work of the two sisters, Jane is generally credited with the translation of such noble hymns as Zinzendorf's "Jesus, still lead on," Spitta's "How blessed from the bonds of sin," and Schmolck's "My Jesus, as thou wilt," while Sarah is believed to have been the translator of Tersteegen's "God calling yet," Spitta's "O happy home, where thou art loved the dearest," and Laurenti's "Rejoice, all ye believers."

Elizabeth Rundle Charles, who is best known for her story, *The Schönberg-Cotta Family,* translated both German and Latin hymns. Among the latter is her version of the Venerable Bede's inspiring lyric, "A hymn of glory let us sing."

Foremost, of course, among all English translators of German hymns is Catherine Winkworth, whose *Lyra Germanica,* published in 1855, went through twenty-three editions. This was followed by a second series which went into twelve editions. She also published the *Chorale Book for England* in 1863 and *Christian Singers of Germany* in 1869. The Lutheran Church will be forever indebted to this gifted woman for her English translations of Rinkart's "Now thank we all our God," Luther's "Out of the depths I cry to thee," Neander's "Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of creation," Nicolai's "Wake, awake, for the night is flying," Weissel's "Lift up your heads, ye mighty gates," Olearius' "Comfort, comfort ye, my people," Gerhardt's "All my heart this night rejoices," Decius' "All glory be to God on high," Schmolck's "Open now thy gates of beauty," Franck's "Deck thyself, my soul, with gladness" and other great hymns from the land of the Reformation almost too numerous to mention. Miss

Winkworth possessed the marvelous ability of preserving the spirit and message of the German hymns while clothing them in another language; wherefore they often have more of the character of original verse than translations.

Since the turn of the century, there has been a noticeable decline in hymn writing in England. Two terrible world wars, together with economic catastrophe, domestic and international tensions and social upheavals, have not proved to be fertile soil for the production of Christian lyrics. However, the publication of two important hymnals during the last five decades has served to stimulate a deeper interest in worship and hymnody, and has likewise inspired a number of hymns of enduring value. The first of these hymnbooks was the high church *English Hymnal,* which appeared in 1906; the second was *Songs of Praise,* edited by Percy Dearmer and published in 1925 during the interlude between the two world conflicts. From the former we have "Strengthen for service, Lord, the hands," a metrical paraphrase of a communion prayer from the Liturgy of Malabar, the fifth century Nestorian rite of the St. Thomas Christians in South India; "O God of earth and altar," written by the versatile journalist, Gilbert Keith Chesterton, in protest against the British rape of the Boer Republic; and "Ye watchers and ye holy ones" by Athelstan Riley, written for the stirring Easter tune, *Lasst uns erfreun herzlich sehr.* From the same period, although they did not appear in the *English Hymnal,* are Henry Scott Holland's "Judge eternal, throned in splendor"; John Brownlie's "The King shall come when morning dawns," and John Oxenham's "In Christ there is no East or West" and " 'Mid all the traffic of the ways." The latter's "Lord God of hosts, whose mighty hand" was written "for the men at the front" in World War I. Clifford Bax's reaction to that conflict was "Turn back, O man, forswear thy foolish ways," written in 1919. William Charter Piggott composed "For those we love within the veil" for a memorial service in the midst of the war.

Percy Dearmer, whose epoch-making work as a hymnbook editor has left an indelible impression on Christian worship

throughout the English-speaking world, has given us "Father, we praise thee, now the night is over," a translation of an Ambrosian office hymn, and "Remember all the people," which first appeared in Dearmer's *Songs of Praise for Boys and Girls* in 1929. "Our Father, by whose servants" was written by George Wallace Briggs in 1920 and was included in *Songs of Praise* in 1925. Another recent hymn from England is John Masefield's "Sing, men and angels, sing," which concluded his play, *Easter,* first given in 1929.

While the foregoing is intended to give our readers something of a pre-view of the English hymns in our new collection, it should not be regarded as exhaustive or final. A number of items are still under consideration, and the Editorial Committee possesses a degree of authority in making necessary changes in bringing about proper balance under the various rubrics. We have not alluded to many of the more familiar hymns, our purpose having been to call attention primarily to new material.

In a final installment of this series we plan to deal with hymns of American origin, as well as with a number of special items.

Notes and Studies

SEMINARY COURSES IN WRITING?

Amos John Traver

"In the matter of effective public relations . . . absolutely nothing was taught in the seminary . . . I was never taught anything about writing in a way to win assent." This quote is from a letter from a young pastor to Dr. Stanley I. Stuber, public relations expert and author of *Public Relations Manual for Churches.*[1] The criticism was valid. Books are flowing off the presses of our religious publishing houses to meet the demand of pastors for post-seminary instruction in public relations.

Church public relations include the entire idea of community good will in which pastors can do their most productive work. Public relations begin with a study of the pastor's personality. His attitude in chance meetings on the street, in buying groceries over the counter, in cooperation with the schools, in relations with the press, in daily contacts with his neighbors—all these help or hinder his ministry. They foster or destroy community good will toward him and toward his church. Pastors can learn much from the science of public relations. It is easily adapted to his own life and work. Promotion of any cause, secular or church, demands a public relations expert. Rare is the congregation able to add such an expert to its staff. Rare, also, are the men prepared to assume such tasks. If they are prepared it is probable that they are self-educated.

Years ago our seminaries were wary of the words publicity and promotion. Excesses of secular salesmanship had given these words a bad name. The lack of integrity in advertising today may still suggest caution in applying the principles of public relations

1 Stuber, S. I., *Public Relations Manual for Churches* (Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1951), p. 7.

to the churches. Incidental instruction has always been given in seminary courses on some phases of pastoral relationships. Today the profession of public relations has become honorable and the principles of public relations have been reduced to a science. Most of our technical schools are introducing required courses in public relations. An engineer must not only know his work but know how to win the good will of his public. A physician must speak in the vocabulary of his patients and learn how to awaken their confidence in his personal interest.

Christianity centers in a Person. John's Gospel calls him "The Word." Aside from the meaning given "The Word" in Greek philosophy, words are the most effective means of communication. Jesus is the divine made concrete in human personality. He is God in self-revelation. He is God's thought communicated to man. His disciples are called to a like ministry of communication. They become good words to the world. Luther ventured to call Christians "Little Christs." As leaders and symbols of Christian enterprise in a community, pastors need to know and practice public relations techniques if their ministry is to be effective. Poor relations with the public mean clogged channels for God's grace.

Not only does the pastor personalize his Gospel but every part of the congregational program and life must consider public reaction. Church buildings, their surroundings, church services, methods of financing, and the doings of church organizations—all play a part in shaping the reputation of the church in the community. Maynard Kniskern, newspaper editor, contributed an article to *Christian Century*, September 19, 1951, issue, severely but fairly criticizing Protestant relations with the press. This is one of many areas of public relations where many pastors fail. On a vacation Sunday I attended church in a neighboring community. The pastor was making the announcements for the coming week. He began something like this: "I am tired of bothering to send in our announcements to the newspaper. As usual this week they messed them all up. Sometimes I think they might have it in

for our church." A public relations course in seminary might have saved that pastor from such pettiness.

WRITING IN THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION

The young pastor who wrote Dr. Stuber had one special peeve toward his seminary training. He was given no instruction in writing. Seminaries have long stressed preaching. Comparatively few include courses preparing pastors for the writing phase of their ministry. Have we forgotten that the church is built on a written record and that when Jesus commissioned his disciples to evangelize, this task would depend on consecrated writing as surely as on oral testimony? Jesus' training was centered in the Scriptures of his race. There he found his own Messianic mission. His preaching and teaching abounded in Scriptural quotations and thought patterns.

The first New Testament writings were letters, some very personal, others more general. How restricted would have been the ministry of Paul without this means of communication. Need for a written Gospel became clear as the personal witnesses of the life of Jesus became fewer with the passing years. Only by writing could a permanent, accurate record be available for future generations.

Writing has preserved for us the subsequent history of the church. It was also the means through which the great leaders of Christian thought spread their influence even to this day. Historians connect the Protestant Reformation with the invention of movable type. In his *Table Talk* Luther is reported to have said "Printing is God's latest and best work to spread true religion throughout the world." A prisoner ot the Wartburg, Luther touched the minds and hearts of multitudes through his translation of the Bible. Pamphlets, sermons, commentaries and personal letters extended his influence. Dr. Roland Bainton in *Here I Stand* quotes Luther as follows: "They say that writing is just pushing a feather but I notice that they hang swords on their hips and put feathers in high honor on their hats."[2]

2 Bainton, Roland, *Here I Stand* (Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1951), p. 235.

The art of religious publication has developed wonderfully since the day of Luther. Other forms of duplication have been added to printing. Today the church is using every possible medium of communication. To supply all the materials used by the church in promotion and publicity trained writers cannot be taken for granted.

CURRENT NEEDS FOR TRAINED WRITERS

All that writing skills can do for a great denomination, or a great cause, it can do for a parish. Pastors will increase their influence immeasurably by writing skills. Writing will be an important factor in their public relations. Perhaps our seminaries have felt that college courses will provide them with students who know how to write. My own experience leads me to believe that neither in speech or in writing is the average college graduate prepared for the ministry. In my courses in writing I begin with personal letters. Results have been revealing. About one-quarter of the average class can write an acceptable letter of congratulation or sympathy. As a former church executive I should have expected this, for extensive correspondence with pastors revealed a great lack of training in English composition.

Pastors need training in writing personal and form letters, weekly and monthly bulletins, programs, advertising, sermons, addresses, news releases, scripts for radio and TV, and the like. They should know how to prepare copy, make lay-outs, place pictures, read proof, select type and many other simple techniques. In seminary is the logical place to give this training.

For one of my courses I like to use the title "The Ministry of Writing." Pastors must see writing as an essential to their calling. Then they will not be satisfied with messy mimeographing, crooked margins, or faulty expression. The best is none too good for the work of the Lord. The motive for their publicity will not be the urge to see their names in print, but a zeal for souls. If writing for a secular magazine requires many rewritings, pastors should not be satisfied with less than their best. A search for just

the right word is worth the effort. As Mark Twain said, "We must find the right word and not its second cousin."

ART FOR CHRIST'S SAKE

Writing is an art. It is a medium for self-expression. The process of writing is creative. Writing is an aid to clear thinking as well as clear expression. Without discounting this value of writing, pastors have a higher purpose. They are communicators of divine truth. Writing skills are important because they make communication attractive, convincing and compelling. A theatrical critic once said that "there is an inexhaustible supply of people willing to stay away from a dull play." He could have said as much for dull preaching or dull writing. Pastors write to be read, to reach their public with their message. Writing is a dedicated art to the sincere man of God.

Paul wrote the Corinthians (II Corinthians 1:13), "We will write you nothing but what you can read and understand; I hope you will understand fully." Again, commenting on "speaking with tongues," he wrote (I Corinthians 14:9 ff.), "If you in a tongue utter speech that is not intelligible, how will anyone know what you said? For you will be speaking into the air. There are doubtless different languages in the world and none is without meaning; but if I do not know the meaning of the language I shall be a foreigner to the speaker and the speaker a foreigner to me . . . in the church I would rather speak five words with my mind in order to instruct others, than ten thousand words in a tongue." Paul would have said as much for writing.

Courses and workshops in writing are a recognized means of improving pastoral writing. They should be multiplied. Out of them will come the talented few who can become professional writers of religious literature. Out of them will come also many pastors who will enrich and enlarge their ministry through better writing.

THE MINISTER AS A MAN OF CULTURE

Victor E. Beck

It should be possible to take for granted that ministers are men of culture. Such a characteristic will show itself in a variety of personal habits. They should, for instance, answer letters promptly. They should know how to say "Thank you" in a gracious manner. These may seem to be such simple things, yet they are a part of true culture. The least that we should be found doing is to observe the common rules of etiquette. Here the "ought" should certainly also be the "is."

If "the soul of culture is the culture of the soul," this should be especially true of the minister. He is privileged and directed, if he is true to his calling, to live continually in the atmosphere and among influences that make for real culture. We need only think of his background, associations, and purpose of calling. The minister should be a man of culture because he has the opportunity to move constantly among the things that enrich life. He has the background of education that should cause him to continue as a student. He has the day by day experiences that should urge him to further development. It is his sacred lot to seek first the things that are of eternal value, as he faces life with an open heart, an open mind, and a bit of heaven in his soul.

There should therefore be found in every minister increasing culture: culture of being, of attitudes, of words, and of deeds. This is something that should seem self evident, yet it is a thing that needs continued vigilance and emphasis. The words uttered by a pastor, "I want always to be a Christian gentleman," should be characteristic of us all. It was therefore a source of disillusionment and disappointment to hear one minister, himself a man of outstanding cultural accomplishment, say, "The rudest treatment I have ever received has been at the hands of some pastors."

Culture is a word of many usages, penetrating into many realms of life and endeavor. The limitations in the use of the word culture as here employed should therefore be made and determined.

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What I have in mind is what the Standard Dictionary defines as "The training, development, or strengthening of the powers, mental or physical, or the conditions thus produced; improvement or refinement of mind, words, or tastes." Or as Webster states it: "The enlightenment and discipline acquired by mental and moral training; refinement in manner and taste." To this latter statement I should add the thought of Christian training and exercise.

Culture is thus here something that concerns the individual life, the cultivation and improvement of one's personality. It may be said to be the best to which we can rise by human response to the gifts of God, making for values. It applies to the minister in his own person—as a Christian. For him, too, culture will in this sense play a part. We have in mind that true aristocracy which has been called a thing of the heart, born of those elements which produce the highest type of individual.

There is here no thought of perfectionism. Of all human beings the Christian minister is perhaps the most conscious of his imperfections and his sinfulness. We are thinking of it rather as the occasion of a goal and of striving.

We have observed that nations have their ministers of culture, even when the culture must be thought of as pagan. This office has specific functions for their specific ideologies. This situation reveals the importance of the subject in general, and should give it added importance within the scope of our limitations. For we are concerned with a specific type of culture for a specific group with specific functions—the shepherds under Christ —who, as well as the people they serve, are endowed with body, mind and soul, also having possibilities for growth and development.

We must thus think also of the physical, mental, social and spiritual culture of the minister; but these elements will not be too closely compartmentalized, because they are merely parts of one entity, the total personality of the minister.

It should go without saying that the minister endeavors to keep himself as physically fit as possible, and that he will seek out and follow those influences which will make for that fitness. He

seeks to give the best impression of which he is capable in his appearance. He dresses like a gentleman—unobtrusively. He acts like a gentleman. He seeks, above all, to present his body as a living sacrifice to the Lord.

He seeks to exhaust to the limit of his capacity the challenge of our day to the alert mind. He will not allow himself wilfully, or through intellectual laziness, to forfeit the continued acquisition of knowledge that will make him the best minister that he can be. He will seek to gain a growing knowledge of his source book, the Bible, and he understands that for the best knowledge and interpretation a wide knowledge of history, of the thoughts of other human beings, and of current events, will be an aid. Thus he strives to meet the increasing body of knowledge that invites and drives and irritates him with the sharpest mental equipment he can bring.

As a man of culture the minister must, however, be a gentleman always; and to be a gentleman may require tremendous effort and self-control. He must ever be looking toward the high and noble—toward God. Thereby he acquires inner reserves of the spirit. With his Savior and Master he is able to witness in a growing degree, "I have meat to eat that ye know not of. . . . My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me." He is sustained by an "unfaltering trust." He has the quality of being that comes from continued association with God in Christ. He is taught and directed by the Holy Spirit. He has a detached enjoyment, and an appreciation of spiritual values, which make him independent of the change and decay that he beholds around and within himself. There can, therefore, be for him a just appraisal of values and a spiritual appreciation of life.

While there are varying degrees of attainment of these cultural elements among ministers, it is, nevertheless, true that these are the ideals with which his calling is surrounded, and that continually beckon him. They constitute the atmosphere in which the minister has his being. Thus the very roots of the ministry are found in that which makes for culture.

For the minister lives primarily with the Word of God and

in that Word, as well as with the best devotional literature and with people of like mind; therefore he would be dull and unresponsive indeed, if he remained entirely impervious to their cultural influences. He preaches and teaches such positive truths as, "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate, pray for them that despitefully use you," and something of that spirit cannot but enter his own soul. "Evil companions corrupt good manners"; such warning words, too, direct his development. The minister's life is hid with Christ in God. He lifts his eyes often to the hills of God. Culture means for him a growing understanding and appreciation of the highest ideals of life and a desire to become a part of them as well as a spearhead in their promotion. In his awareness of God, Jesus will be the master and the ideal.

It should be said, however, that the center of Christianity is not ethics or culture. The heart of Christianity is the grace of God offered to sinners through Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior. That grace is, furthermore, sufficient for the sinner if he responds to it.

Recognizing this fundamental truth, the thing to which we come is that salvation through faith in Jesus Christ should have a cultural by-product, and that this by-product should be especially evident in the minister. There is no excuse for the lack of culture in him. Rudeness in him becomes a contradiction. The minister as a man of culture and refinement is a gentleman always —at least in his striving. Being a gentleman does not hinder him from being firm or having convictions. As a matter of fact, true culture is born of profound spiritual experiences and convictions, experiences and convictions which are the gift of God. Therefore the minister brings something of heaven to earth. He is endowed with a divine afflatus. It will reflect something of holiness, of purity, and of love.

Culture is understanding, appreciation and evaluation, and the ability to fit in, not according to the slogan, "When in Rome do as the Romans do," but by bringing a Christ-like personality into every situation to which we are called. Here the life of Jesus is a striking illustration. He was criticized for talking to certain

people, for going to certain places, for eating with certain people, and for doing things on certain days. But it is to be noted that, though He did these things, always it was Jesus, the sinless Son of God, who spoke, went, and acted; and wherever He went, and whatever He did, He brought the uplift and help of the Spirit and power of God.

Thus the minister is satisfied to be filled with that which enriches, not primarily his material wealth, but his soul and personality. He must be able to say that he is so rich that he really does not care unduly for material things. He will have something of the enriching poverty of the disciples so that the words apply to him, "As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things."

He will have a spirit of calm in a restless world. He will exert an influence that resists every trend toward rating people in terms of what they *have* instead of what they *are*. He will rather scatter the fragrance of a beneficent influence as it has been sublimated through reading, meditation, prayer and a life of unselfish service. For of all people the minister must primarily be filled with the quality of being. He has renounced ambition for material gain —knowing that if he gives himself to it he makes a failure of his calling—and has made fuller enjoyment of the Lord his real gain. He has learned early in his ministry that "Man does not live by bread alone." He knows that the greatest things for time and eternity cannot be bought for money, and it is in these things that he does his real merchandising.

Therefore the true minister of Jesus Christ will be a man of culture and a gentleman always. It has become the very nature of his being. There will be times when he must be severe, but the very severity will be undergirded with the spirit of love. It will be only when severity is manifestly in the will of God, and it will be exercised in the spirit of the compassion of Jesus. In all instances will he be severe first of all with himself.

It is the fact that the minister, by virtue of the office that he holds, and the character of his calling, is inherently and inescapably a man of culture, at least in its broad outlines, that makes

criticisms of him that are anachronisms unjust. The minister as a man of culture must be judged by the climate of his day. The criticisms become evidences that the person who makes them is guilty of the thing he criticizes, for he fails in the qualities of being a gentleman, since he does not judge contemporaneously. He is guilty of wresting conditions from their setting, and by that wresting giving them a contorted appearance.

Whatever we presume to judge must be judged in its milieu. The men of any time are what they are culturally *within that time.* Viewed from that point of view, it is a safe assertion that, whatever may have been their shortcomings, and despite some exceptions, the ministers of any age have generally been among the cultural leaders in their communities. This notwithstanding, they would be the first ones to admit their failures, failures not so much in the presence of earthly standards as before Him who is perfectly holy and perfectly good.

It is the spirit of the kind and merciful heavenly Father that they endeavor to bring to human life. Realizing that there is no escape from the truth, "Like priest, like people," they desire that there shall be in and about their life the contagion of the good, the true, and the beautiful, which will come as a sweet benediction to those around them. Their sorrow will lie chiefly in the fact that they fail all too often in this endeavor; their joy will be found in the consciousness of right motives.

THE USEFULNESS OF THE LXX IN THE STUDY OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Ronald M. Hals

I. THE PREREQUISITES OF USING THE LXX

To make any really satisfactory use of the LXX in the study of the Old Testament text it goes without saying that one must have a thorough familiarity with both the Hebrew and the Greek texts. To be able to read a text, either Hebrew or Greek, by dint of continual reference to a lexicon is certainly not a thorough familiarity. Such a use is not a controlled use in the right sense.

Instead of the student being able to control the authorities he consults, he is actually controlled by them, and any conclusions he reaches can have no independent value.

As a second prerequisite for the use of the LXX, I would mention an awareness of the problems of LXX study. One must be conscious of the nature of the LXX texts available. We do not yet have a really critical edition of the LXX. The editions commonly in use such as Swete's and Rahlfs's are basically only editions of the fourth century Codex Vaticanus with a very short critical apparatus. Recent finds such as the Chester Beatty papyri have brought our knowledge of the text tradition of the Greek Bible to the point where scholars can begin to feel their way into that period before the great uncial codices. These finds have made new editions of the LXX a necessity, but although several are in the process of preparation, none has yet made its appearance.

Also in recent times the whole problem of the nature of the LXX translation has been brought to the foreground with great force. Was there actually a LXX, i.e., a single translation, and are we really justified in trying to determine the text of the so-called proto-LXX? Paul Kahle has convinced many scholars with his arguments that what we know as the LXX had its origin in a variety of Greek translations which later came to be standardized in one accepted revision by the Church. Although the majority of opinion still feels that Lagarde's postulate of an Urtext has not by any means been overthrown by Kahle's theory, the question will undoubtedly remain an open one for several years to come.

But regardless of this dispute, scholars have come to general agreement that the LXX was a composite work in the sense that it presents the result of the labors of several translators. Sometimes even within one book two or more divergent styles are to be distinguished. Thus the student must guard against generalizations supposed to be valid for the entire LXX, and must in each case ascertain the character of the translation of a section, whether it be practically verbatim as Psalm 73, or more of a paraphrase such as some sections of Deutero-Isaiah.

In addition to these more mechanical matters the student

must also bear in mind certain inner peculiarities of the LXX of a more theological character, namely the much-discussed questions of the LXX's rendering of the name of God, and its tendencies toward anti-anthropomorphisms and spiritualizing exegesis. Whether these matters are due to following an oral tradition as Dodd maintains, or to an eisegetical tendency as is usually maintained, is a matter for experts to decide, but the phenomenon itself by the very frequency of its occurrence demands the awareness of everyone using the LXX.

On the more cheerful side it may be observed that at least one of the main problems of LXX study has been rather completely eliminated in recent years. The question as to whether the Vorlage of the LXX was the Hebrew text or that text transcribed into Greek characters as Wutz held is really no longer under debate. Persistent testing of Wutz's hypothesis although producing many valuable results has led to its abandonment. Undoubtedly future generations will be able to make similar remarks about many of the problems which we today must still describe as in dispute.

The prerequisites of using the LXX include not only a familiarity with the languages and an awareness of the problems involved, but also, as perhaps the most important element of all, an honest sympathy for the task of those who made the translation we know as the LXX. Lying at the very center of all textual study based on the use of a version is always this simple question: Given this Hebrew text, how would I in the situation of the translator express it in the language of the version? When later in this paper a sketch is presented of the method of textual emendation on the basis of the LXX, this question will provide the natural starting point.

II. THE USEFULNESS OF THE LXX IN GENERAL

By virtue of its position as the oldest translation of the Old Testament the LXX has an obvious claim to fame. When this is combined with the fact that our oldest reasonably complete LXX

manuscripts (fourth century A.D.) antedate the oldest Hebrew manuscripts of comparable size by about five centuries, the value of the Greek Bible is enormously enhanced. It becomes our oldest witness to the form and meaning of the biblical text.

For the exegete, whose ultimate purpose is to discover what the biblical writers' words meant to their first readers, the LXX provides a means of approach to his goal by its testimony to what those words meant to the Greek-speaking world of the period just before the Christian era. To the textual critic, whose aim is to trace back the history of the biblical text as we know it with the purpose of coming as close as possible to the autographs, the LXX and more particularly the Greek versions of the first centuries A.D. present extremely well attested evidence to a Hebrew text approximately the same as our Massoretic Text. This striking phenomenon of literary transmission, unparalleled in antiquity, not only calls forth our great respect for the transmitters, but serves as a constant reminder to Bible students of every generation that theirs is a discipline in which caution and carefulness have always been prime requisites. The methods of study and preservation have changed but the remarkable record of the past remains as a challenge to future responsibility.

Not less in significance for the student of the Old Testament are the more incidental aspects of LXX study. The list of the books which the translators chose to preserve for us under the headings "The Books" and "The Holy Scriptures" gives us primary data of the highest importance for the study of the history and meaning of canonicity. For the incorporation into the Greek Bible of the Apocrypha the historian owes a tremendous debt of gratitude. From the peculiarities of the translation itself such as the history of the rendering of the Ineffable Name (which apparently moved from the Aramaic characters through Aramaic and Greek abbreviations and various Greek substitutes to the ultimate adoption of the simple word (κύριος), and the previously mentioned inclination toward anti-anthropomorphisms (cf. ἁμάρτημα for qĕtsĕph in Numbers 1:53) and spiritualizing exegesis (lazy man of Proverbs 24:30 ff. is rendered as an "unreasonable, foolish

man")—from these evidences we can infer much about the theological tenets of the LXX translators and their fellows. Thus for the inquiring student the LXX is far more than just an old version; it is a mine of priceless information of many kinds.

III. THE USEFULNESS OF THE LXX FOR SEMITIC PHILOLOGY

As a translation the Greek Bible presents an immense collection of quite welcome source material for the study of the etymology and semantic history of biblical Hebrew. Each passing decade brings a flood of new investigations in this field. The following titles should be among the most typical as well as the most familiar: Otto Eissfeldt, "Der Maschal im A. T."; S. H. Blank, "The Septuagint Renderings of Old Testament Terms for Law"; C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks,* Part I of which is entitled "The Religious Vocabulary of Hellenistic Judaism"; and N. H. Smith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament.*

Intensive study of the LXX renderings has done much to extend our Hebrew vocabularies. In several cases the Greek words used in translation seem to indicate that the Hebrew words were understood in the sense of parallel Arabic and Akkadian roots. These so-called "Arabizing" and "Akkadizing" renderings, of course, do not indicate that the translators were familiar with those languages, but rather as D. Winton Thomas phrases it, "that these words originally belonged to the common stock of the Semitic languages, and that they formed at one time part of the Hebrew vocabulary, but that their meaning was generally lost, to be retained only by the Egyptian Jews, and traceable today only through the medium of Arabic" and Akkadian.[1]

In many instances comparative Semitic philology, stimulated by a rendering of the LXX, has enabled scholars to eliminate unnecessary emendations which had previously found general acceptance. For example, in Proverbs 30:17 liqqᵉhăth appears in Greek as γῆρας, "old age," and this had prompted the suggestion that the

1 D. Winton Thomas, "The Language of the Old Testament," *Record and Revelation,* ed. by H. Wheeler Robinson (Oxford, 1938), p. 397.

text should be emended to read l^{e}zĭqnăth. However, in Ethiopic the root lehka has the meaning "was old" and in Arabic it means "was white" as of the hair. This has led D. Winton Thomas to propose that the Massoretic reading is a corruption of this root, and that after all it was this word which the LXX translators had before them and not the conjecturally emended reading which the critical apparatus of the Kittel Bible suggests.[2]

IV. THE USEFULNESS OF THE LXX FOR TEXTUAL CRITICISM

In this section it is my purpose to analyze into its logical steps the process by which the suggestion of an emendation of the Massoretic Text on the basis of a variant reading in the LXX is arrived at. As the preceding paragraph indicated, many of the cases where divergencies have been supposed to occur in reality represented an identical text. Now, of course, it would be absurd to claim that no real divergencies exist. They do, and it may be admitted that sometimes the translation may have preserved a better reading. In the light of these facts the tentative, conjectural emendation of the Massoretic Text is a legitimate part of texual criticism, providing it is done in accord with the pattern of sound procedure.

In any case the proper point at which to begin is with the Massoretic Text, and then to try to understand the LXX as a rendering of it. This is fundamental, and yet so simple that it is all too widely ignored. In his article "The Language of the Old Testament" in *Record and Revelation* (p. 401) D. Winton Thomas concludes the discussion referred to in an earlier paragraph with the following summary:

> It must be regarded as the first business of the Old Testament linguist to explain by comparative philology the forms he finds in Hebrew, and not save in the last resort, to emend. Emendation is based upon the false assumption that all that can be known of Hebrew *is* known—it perpetuates the known as the norm by which language is gauged. Comparative philology, however, adventures into the unknown, and discovers new criteria by which language can be adjudged possible or impossible.

2 D. Winton Thomas, "The Textual Criticism of the O.T.," *The O.T. and Modern Study,* ed. by H. H. Rowley (Oxford, 1951), p. 243.

Thus after beginning with the Hebrew text, and after a careful study of the context of the passage in question in both the original and the translation, the student must try in as objective a way as possible to put himself into the situation of the translator and ask, "Could I render this passage in this way?" If the answer is "No," and the divergence appears real, the student must turn to a detailed study of the LXX reading and a systematic effort to account for its origin internally, i.e., not as a result of having had before it a text differing from the Massoretic Text.

Here, of course, one must endeavor to determine critically what was the original LXX text of this passage. Almost a century ago Paul de Lagarde laid down the three basic principles which still apply: (1) A critical text of the Greek Old Testament cannot be based on the authority of any one manuscript or without regard to the grouping of manuscripts; (2) The restoration of the text common to any one family must not be regarded as more than a step in the right direction; (3) Even a critical text when revealed . . . will not be free from the element of uncertainty. (Cited in J. Reider, "Present State of Textual Criticisms of the Old Testament" in HUCA 7, 1930.) The uncertainty which Lagarde mentioned applies not only to the critical text as dependent upon the judgment of the critic, but also to any ancient text as susceptible even in the best manuscripts to corruption arising from internal sources. For example, the Greek of Numbers 3:24 gives Δαηλ for lā'ēl. In spite of the easily discovered source of this corruption in the similarity of Δ and Λ the reading with Δ appears in almost all manuscripts, and in some is even changed to Δανιήλ.[3]

Clearly, if such an internal source can be found for the LXX reading, the investigation ends here. But if not, then the next logical step is to try to reconstruct the Hebrew Vorlage of the LXX word or phrase. Here we leave to a large extent the field of deductive scholarship and pass into the realm of intuition and conjecture. Certainly only he whose acquaintance with both languages is intimate dare attempt such reconstruction and still maintain a serious claim to be doing scholarly work.

3 Bleddyn J. Roberts, *The Old Testament Text and Versions* (Cardiff, 1951), p. 177.

Skipping over the difficulties of such a reconstruction as is the prerogative of a survey, and presuming the task to have been accomplished, the next item would be that of trying to understand the origin of such a text in the light of the Massoretic Text. If the two closely resemble each other, the possibility enters that one is to be explained on the basis of the other as the result perhaps of confusion of letters, metathesis, dittography, haplography, or parablepsia. But which is to be considered the original? This the final and most crucial question of the whole process and each case must be considered individually. Certain mistakes such as parablepsia work in only one direction, but most are reversible. For the evaluation of the merits of both possibilities the student must take into account all available evidence, both external and internal. External evidence is provided by other manuscripts and versions and is capable of being weighed rather objectively. Internal evidence, though, is more open to dispute. Questions such as, "Is there a reason why the Massoretic Text would have been likely to have been changed by a scribe to read in the way the LXX seems to have read?" or "Is there some motivation which might have prompted the original text presumably now reflected in the Greek to have been altered at a later date to its present form?" must be asked, but these questions are among the most difficult to answer objectively. However, certain basic principles can be laid down. The difficulties or improbabilities in following any given line of reasoning must be considered cumulatively, i.e., two consecutive fifty percent probabilities yield a result only twenty-five percent probable. Other things being equal, any change whose motive can be explained must be deemed more likely than a change which can only be attributed to scribal blindness or editorial imbecility. And finally, a critic need not be afraid to let a problem remain a problem.

It is no longer considered sound methodologically to demonstrate the use of the LXX in textual emendation by examples of individual words, since this does not provide sufficient scope for the appreciation of the nature of the LXX text in a given passage. Instead sections must be examined as a whole and in the light of

their contexts. Naturally this paper does not provide sufficient space for such examples, and so I can only refer anyone interested to the two brief but rather typical examples discussed on pages 178-181 of Roberts' recent book, *The Old Testament Text and Versions.*

V. CONCLUSIONS

It should have become clear from the many requirements mentioned in the development of the preceding survey that very few scholars have the abilities necessary to meet the demands of this work. Theoretically only he who can justly be classed as a textual critic, i.e., one whose major field of research has been textual and linguistic analysis, ought to attempt the task of using the LXX, but here as almost everywhere theory and reality must of necessity diverge. The work is of such importance that it cannot be ignored, of such magnitude that it cannot be left to a few, and of such a nature that it cannot be accomplished except through the cooperation of specialists in different fields.

The past has seen the amazing achievements of giants such as Gesenius and Driver who were at home in several fields, but it seems our times are destined to be the era of specialization. This has its advantages, such as Margolis' concentration of a lifetime on the Greek text of Joshua, but its danger is a lack of the sharing of techniques and results which lead to unawareness and dependence.

By way of evaluation of past work, Delitzsch, *Die Lese-und Schreibfehler im A. T.,* and Perles, *Analekten zur Textkritik des A. T.,* may be singled out as famous patterns after which much future work will still have to be modelled, and S. R. Driver's masterful *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* still provides a splendid example of the judicious use of the LXX. However, the bad has heavily outweighed the good in past years, no doubt due to the scant number of competent men in the field. And with text critics as with Caesar, the evil that men do seems to live after them with amazing vitality. It is hardly the intent of this paper to point the finger of scorn at the all too human scholars

of bygone generations whose proposed emendations on the basis of the LXX have since been shown to be mistaken. Nevertheless the critical apparatus of Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* should not pass without some comment. From Orlinsky's remark that he has been "waging virtually a one-man battle against the footnotes in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica,*"[4] it is easy to ascertain his view of that work. And it must be admitted that in many cases he has justified his position. He even goes so far as to state "that the overwhelming majority of the twenty-four books in the Hebrew Bible were done by scholars whose forte was not textual criticism (notable exceptions were Driver in *Biblia Hebraica*[2] and Bewer in *Biblia Hebraica*[3]) . . . [and] that nearly every line of their footnotes swarms with errors of commission and omission as regards both the primary and secondary versions."[5] However, a less one-sided evaluation is that of S. R. Driver (which, in fact, Orlinsky quotes): "The best collection both of variants from the versions and of conjectural emendations is that contained in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica.* But in the acceptance of both variants and emendations, considerable discrimination must be exercised." (*Notes on Samuel,* p. xxxv, n. 6.)

When we turn to the future we are confronted by a mass of "when's" and "if's." When a modern critical text of the LXX is available, when each of the Old Testament books has been studied with the thoroughness that only a few have received thus far, if adequate scholarly cooperation can be achieved, and, of course, if the money is made available, then it may be possible that a new critical text of the Old Testament with a sound and useful selection of LXX material will become a reality.

4 Harry M. Orlinsky, "Progress in Septuagint Research," *The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow* (Chicago, 1947), p. 151, n. 12.

5 *Ibid.,* p. 151

Book Reviews and Notices[1]

The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1952. $6.

The appearance of the *Revised Standard Version* of the Bible, celebrated with a great festival of thanksgiving on September 30, is said to be the greatest Bible news in 341 years. Though somewhat overdrawn in some respects, that statement reflects a measure of truth in that it is probably the most widely and expensively promoted venture in the history of Bible publication. The interest generated thereby in the Bible as God's Word may indeed prove auspicious. It will certainly stimulate an eager examination of the original Scriptures to see "if these things are so."

The publishers are to be commended for the production of beautiful, well conceived, and well wrought editions. The copy used by the reviewer is the one-volume buckram edition, which is superb in every aspect of workmanship. The two-volume edition of the Old Testament, corresponding to the blue-cloth New Testament volume, is perhaps best for study purposes, though a heavier paper with wider margins would have made it more serviceable. Perhaps a special study edition embodying those features could be provided if, in the publisher's estimation, the demand justifies it.

The translators deserve the thanks of every Bible student for the prodigious amount of labor expended in the production of this new version—for it is a new *version,* not a "new Bible" as claimed in some advertisements. Since 1937 sixteen distinguished scholars have worked on the Old Testament translation. Their scholarship and standing are a guarantee of responsibility and demand our utmost consideration.

The language and format of the new version deserve attention. The Word of God was originally transmitted orally and hence in the everyday language of the people. When it was reduced to writing to preserve its purity, the language employed was that of the age in which the scribes lived. It was a living, dynamic language understood by the people of that age. The translators of the present version have attempted to do for the American Bible-reading public what the ancient writers did—to make God's Word accessible to the people of today in language they can readily comprehend. The format as well as the language contribute to that end. Poetry is presented in appropriate form, conversation is indicated by quotation marks, and drama is clearly recognizable.

To illustrate definite improvements in translation, attention may be directed to the following passages:

Gen. 6:3

KJ: And the Lord said, My Spirit shall not always strive with man. . . .

RSV: Then the Lord said, "My Spirit shall not abide in man forever. . . .

Numbers 22:5

KJ: He sent messengers therefore unto Balaam the son of Beor to Pethor, which is by the river of the land of the children of his people. . . .

RSV: . . . sent messengers to Balaam the son of Beor at Pethor, which is near the River, in the land of Amau. . . .

That this is correct we now know from the

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1 Books reviewed or noticed in these pages may be purchased through your church's publication house.

Idrimi statue (cf. Albright, *BASOR*, 118, p. 15, n. 13).

I Sam. 1:5

KJ: But unto Hannah he gave a worthy portion; for he loved Hannah: but the Lord had shut up her womb.

RSV: . . . and, although he loved Hannah, he would give Hannah only one portion, because the Lord had closed her womb.

Prov. 26:23

KJ: Burning lips and a wicked heart are like a potsherd covered with silver dross.

RSV: Like the glaze covering an earthen vessel, are smooth lips with an evil heart.

Ezek. 6:4

KJ: And your altars shall be desolate, and your images shall be broken. . . .

RSV: Your altars shall become desolate, and your incense altars shall be broken. . . .

These are just a few samples of detailed improvement in translation and meaning due to the knowledge gained from archaeological, textual, linguistic, and related materials.

On the other hand there are numerous passages where further clarification is possible: I. K. 10:28, 29, where the word Kue is carried over from KJ. It is now certain that Cilicia is the place referred to. Ezra 4:10 retains Osnapper for Ashurbanipal. In Ps. 48:7b it would be better to read "sweep away" for "shatter." It is now pretty certain that "prayers" should be read for "vows" in Ps. 61:5. In Is. 8:6 "quietly" would be better than "gently." Also in Is. 9:20a "devour" should be read in place of "snatch."

Thus it appears at once that the RSV is more accurate than its predecessors only in detail. The major improvements are based on a more thorough study and appreciation of the ancient versions—Greek, Syriac, Latin, etc.—and on recent archaeological discoveries such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Ras Shamra texts, inscriptions, etc. Lexical and grammatical materials thus derived have been used to good advantage. The Word of God is not altered; it is permitted to speak to the present generation in its own language.

The preface to the reviewer's edition of RSV states that "about eighty" changes have been made in improving the 1946 edition of the New Testament. It is to be hoped that the National Council will see fit to provide for a continuation committee on Bible revision which in turn will see to it that new manuscripts, archaeological discoveries, language changes, etc., will be utilized as they come to light so that the difficulties encountered in introducing extensive revisions, frequently so disconcerting to those whose worship experiences grow out of, are centered in, and are nurtured on inspiring biblical materials, may be obviated.

J. M. Myers

Gospel and Law. The Relation of Faith and Ethics in Early Christianity. By C. H. Dodd. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951. 83 pages. $1.50.

Professor Dodd, who has been justly acclaimed as one of the two or three most distinguished living New Testament scholars, is turning the years of his retirement from Cambridge to good account by adding fruitful postscripts to his remarkably fruitful contributions to the literature. His Bampton Lectures at Columbia University (1950) have now been published in the form of an attractively printed booklet. Every pastor ought to have it on his reading list. Lucid, concise, judicious, penetrating, and carefully organized, it is so relevant to our times that the reviewer bitterly resented the interruptions that kept him from reading it at a single stretch. He solved his problem by reading it again from cover to cover. It says more that is worth saying than many books say in five times as many pages.

In these lectures we see Professor Dodd

at his best—as a New Testament scholar who is also a Christian statesman. As a Christian statesman he feels constrained to flash an urgent red light against the suicidal tendency in some Neo-Protestant circles to dismiss the early Christian *didache* or *catechesis* as little more than a haphazard and adventitious appendix to the *kerygma*. He proves that the *kerygma* and the *didache*, which answered roughly to the *haggada* and the *halakha* of Judaism, were kept from falling apart in practice by certain concrete principles and motives that were inherent in the faith of the early Christians. On the basis of these principles and motives he then analyzes the ethical teachings of the written gospels and defines the "law" of Christ without falling into the pitfalls of legalism. He finds that the "law of Christ is essentially concerned with the *quality* of the act and the *direction* in which it is moving and that this quality and this direction can be recognized at lowly levels of achievement, as well as in the higher reaches of saint-hood" (pp. 77-78).

This *Gesinnungs ethik* is a categorical demand. We are in duty bound to bear witness to it, not only by translating it into appropriate acts and attitudes within the Christian community, but also by pronouncing moral judgments upon all non-Christian acts and attitudes in society at large. For the will of God is required of all alike. To assume that it is required only of those who have accepted Christ would be to swallow the absurdity that the God of Redemption and the God of Creation are two different Gods.

In view of the sterling character of Professor Dodd's latest treatise, the reviewer is extremely loath to call attention to an unfortunate omission. The author glides all too lightly over one of the most significant facets of the faith of the early Christians, namely, their confidence in the power of the Holy Spirit to enable them to put seemingly unattainable precepts into practice. In all other respects the treatise moves on a very high level of scholarship and faith. Professor Dodd realizes full well that the *didache* without the *kerygma* would be the most futile of all futilities; but he has done us a distinct service by reminding us once more that, unless we respond to the *kerygma* in terms of the *didache*, that is, in terms of gospel-inspired living, our faith is not even remotely Christian in the New Testament sense.

RUSSELL D. SNYDER

Man and State. By Eivind Berggrav. Translated by George Aus. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1951. 319 pages. $4.00.

The chapters of this book were written by the Bishop of Oslo during his two year solitary confinement when Quisling attempted to rule Norway as the stooge of Hitler. But they are not personal reflections or meditations on his imprisonment. They constitute a well developed Christian view of the state.

Bishop Berggrav sees the roots of the modern totalitarian state in the philosophy of Machiavelli and traces the development from Machiavelli to Mussolini and Hitler. He writes intimately and concernedly about these trends which have not been eradicated even with the passing of the two modern dictators. The bishop's analysis is a good commentary on modern history, showing the why and wherefore of political events and how to deal with them.

The real purpose of the book is not to write an analysis of history, but to find a Christian answer to the problem of an all-powerful state which no longer recognizes God as its founder and judge. For this reason let no reader imagine that the book is already out of date because most of its chapters were written in 1944. The book will be good reading in the next few decades. It ought to be required reading for all preachers and students of Christian Social Ethics.

Its weakness lies in the suggested structure of a modern democratic state on God-

appointed lines. Without prejudice or malice the good bishop leans too heavily on natural law, Hugo Grotius, and the Norwegian and United States constitutions. Since his research materials had to be smuggled to him in his imprisonment, the lack of other source materials may be forgiven. But the statesman will not be impressed by the suggestions of the bishop as being the final word on the structure of democratic government in this atomic age.

Over against this weakness there is also the strength of this book in the Christian attitude and conduct in respect to things governmental. This book is not only the latest but the finest summary and clarification of Luther's views in this area available in English. It is a pastor's sermon to his parishioners on how to act when a godless regime takes over. It is Scripturally sound as well as historically attested, demanding only the faith and courage of the saints in our day to implement the pastor's admonition.

The Muhlenberg Press is to be thanked for the publication in English of this fine treatise, and the translator, Prof. George Aus of Luther Seminary, is to be commended for the readable English translation.

E. C. Fendt

The Modern Rival of Christian Faith. By Georgia Harkness. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1952. 223 pages. $2.75.

A timely book in which "secularism," that catch-all for everything the preacher does not happen to like, is clearly defined, its most significant manifestations are delineated, and the answer to it is proposed both with passion and discernment.

The book consists of three parts: Secularism and the Christian Faith, Rival Secular Faiths, The Way Forward. Secularism is defined as "the organization of life as if God did not exist" (p. 11), "a concession to 'the spirit of the age'" (p. 12), "the quest for attractive, apparently rewarding values which are other than those which the Christian faith regards as embodied in the command, 'Seek ye first the Kingdom of God'" (p. 13). Part I aims to set forth in simple terms the essentials of the Christian faith on which, in spite of theological diversity, Christians of the world agree, by way of contrast with the spirit of secularism. Part II, after a preliminary *apologia pro* modern life, discusses Scientism and Humanism, Democracy, Nationalism, Racism, and Fascism, Capitalism and Communism, as the dominant forms of secular faith. Part III discusses the ways and means the way forward should take.

This book, like everything from the pen of Georgia Harkness, has the common touch. It focuses the issues clearly and simply. Yet the treatment is not superficial, nor is any easy panacea proposed. The Gospel alone provides both the analysis and the cure.

At several points, however, one might wish for a stand less reminiscent of the watering down of the Christian categories against which ecumenical Christianity has by and large reacted. For one thing, her own definition of a "liberal" (pp. 34 ff.) cannot very well be set in opposition to Neo-orthodoxy, for with such "liberalism" the so-called neo-orthodox would find themselves in thorough agreement. Either such liberalism amounts to little more than a repudiation of fundamentalism and obscurantism, or else there are actually some points at which Miss Harkness has failed to grasp the real incisiveness of the biblical witness.

For example, her discussion of "The Meaning of the Cross" becomes somewhat anemic when compared with Brunner's classic treatment in *The Mediator,* which stands as a healthy corrective to the now increasingly popular Lundensian treatment. She writes: "One need not go very far with those theories of the atonement which represent Christ's death as propitiating the wrath of an angry God or evening off a score that had to be settled to uphold the authority of divine govern-

ment. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is not that kind of God!" (p. 60). How far is this removed from the blasphemous *"Dieu pardonnera; c'est son metier?"* The holiness of God and his law cannot be so cavalierly dismissed. "In every part of the Bible, in the classic Christian message as a whole, the possibility is taken into account that God could annihilate his creatures if he chose, that the living God will punish disobedient humanity with final and absolute ruin. . . . Superficiality makes its own God—a God who is of the kind it likes. So long as we continue to reject the scriptural ideas of divine holiness, of divine wrath, and of divine righteousness in punishment, the process of decay within the Christian Church will continue" (Brunner, p. 468). This forms the background for the penal aspect of the atonement which sounds so strange to modern ears.

Equally wishy-washy is the treatment of the "Christian hope of eternal life" (p. 46). Is this really a matter about which Christians could possibly be in some kind of doubt? Is it something which God might or might not hold in reserve for those who love him? Is the Christian's certainty of eternal life really based on the reasoned conviction that "the sphere of fellowship with God" would be "greatly foreshortened" if it were otherwise? Or is this at the very core of the Christian's encounter with the living God, which makes him aware of what it means to be an *individual* center of responsibility, that he knows that he whom God has once addressed and called into being by the word of love cannot escape that God for time and for eternity, even if he would? This is part of the anguish of the human situation, and a good part of man's queer antics are accounted for by his efforts to escape this judgment that is to come. No, whether or not there is eternal life for the children of God is, for faith, no more debatable than is the fact that we must all appear before the judgment throne of God.

The carrying over into eternity of the categories of the time of decision and of struggle (pp. 151 ff.) seems also to indicate that the resurrection is not taken quite seriously enough. This is the miracle and the mystery of the Christian consummation that he has arrived at the goal and yet continues to live. Since we know life only as progress toward the goal, we cannot conceive a life that has arrived. Either we kill life or else we deny arrival. Therefore, Paul's conclusion ought to be taken seriously: "What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him" (I Cor. 2:9).

It seems also that the whole treatment of government would be strengthened if it were shown that government does not rest upon a contract but is one of the structures of creation given by God to men in love for the building of community in a sinful world. The aura of holiness that should at all times surround government as ordained of God would then, perhaps, be not so easily usurped by demagogues.

Ought not a treatment of secularism also make clear that this is also secularism (the recognition of only one age) if it is not recognized that the Christian lives in two ages at once, that the new humanity in Jesus Christ has already begun, and that therefore history moves toward both its consummation and its end?

MARTIN J. HEINECKEN

Luther Now. By Hanns Lilje. Translated by Carl J. Schindler. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1952. $2.25.

This is not the first venture of Bishop Lilje in the Reformation field. He has formerly distinguished himself through publications in this area and is thoroughly at home there. The content is largely history, not a life of Luther in the ordinary sense, but a series of views covering the sixteenth century contemporary scene, Luther and the Reformation. However, the emphasis is on the word "Now," which has been added to the title in the Amer-

ican translation. The purpose is to show the applicability of the principles of Luther and the Reformation to the urgent problems of today. The author's wide range of experience as secretary of the German Christian Students' World Federation, as bishop, and as world traveler has qualified him to feel the pulse of the time. It has also relieved the book of a certain professorial air. The translating has been well done, so that the book makes easy reading.

The author finds that the great calamity of our time is the loss of personality and individuality. The false, self-confident individualism of the nineteenth century is lost; and modern man's greatest problem is that of existence, which fills him with dread. Individuality and personality have been depressed, the book shows, (1) by a priesthood and a church which removes man from the immediate presence of God, (2) by the present tendency to deify the state, (3) by modern industrialism, (4) through cultural secularism.

Catholicism (and it is ever with us, even among Protestants) had relieved man of his existence in the immediate presence of God, therefore also of responsibility, and, in the final analysis, of individuality; for individuality involves choice. The Reformation has made the individual existence of man possible (1) by placing the individual alone before God (the church does not and cannot come between), (2) by the fact that God addresses himself to the individual, and (3) by the fact that God thus releases an "eternal momentum in man." About the contrast between the supposed objectivity of the Reformation and the later subjectivity, which is often made, Lilje says it has no foundation in reality. "A wholly objective life," he remarks, "is fortunately inconceivable." Without faith man cannot live as a man. He has only biological existence. Only within the faith proclaimed by the Reformation can life's potentialities be realized. And that faith is an intensely personal matter.

This strong individualizing of man, which is at the heart of the Reformation, has a profound effect on the idea of the church, state, relation of church and state, culture, and society. If man stands as an individual before God, and God addresses himself to the individual, there is no room for a priestly, sacramental organization between man and God. The church is not above the believers. The believers are the church and also the priesthood. The church is the work of God. It is found wherever the Word is at work and received. It can, therefore, not be identified with any organization, nor with all of them together. In fact, it is not an organization; and the true unity of the church cannot be a unity of organization. It is the unity of the fellowship of saints. How we need to study our confessions on this point! Nor can ecumenicity be attained by any form of organization or federation. But where Christ is preached and accepted, there is the Holy Christian Church, and there is ecumenicity. These points are of great importance in the current discussion about the unity of the church and ecumenicity.

In the relationship between church and state, the author does not have the passive attitude to political life which has been so common among the Germans. And how can he, being a follower of Luther? He does not even criticize Zwingli for his political activity, as the custom has been. On the contrary, he rather apologizes for Luther's limitation on this point.

To an outmoded form of individualism, sick unto death, Protestantism offers a most vital and vigorous view of man. That is the pertinence of the Reformation to the present situation. It offers a remedy which ultimately has application to most of its ills. The remedy is faith, the antidote against the mechanization of man in the machine age, which eliminates responsible choice and reduces men from individuals to masses. Faith enables man to live as a man in the midst of depressing circumstances.

Luther's view of the state is of fundamental significance today, when there is a growing tendency to deify the state by making it absolute. The state is not an ultimate, though it exists by divine right. It is rather a means toward an end. It makes a great deal of difference whether the state is viewed as an end in itself and the fountain head of political life, or it is viewed as a link in the divine order, as with Luther; the latter involves responsibility to God, and has been at the basis of the democratic systems, which cannot endure without this sense of responsibility. In connection with this we may recall that political morality is one of the distressing problems of today. "The political morality of the Reformers," Bishop Lilje says, "has become their greatest historical contribution to this generation" (p. 167).

The author deals with the problem of culture. He finds with Burckardt that "despiritualization" is the most questionable aspect of modern "progress." The Reformers as well as the scholastics were firmly convinced that "all scholarship (perhaps here the translator has run up against a difficulty) is related to the supernatural" (p. 168), a point of view to be recaptured. Without this point of view, creative activity ceases. "If cultural life, particularly scientific inquiry, emancipates itself from its spiritual moorings, nothing can prevent its degradation into mere techniques for practical purposes. Secularization is the death-blow to every creative activity" (p. 168). Is not this what is taking place among us?

The era when Europe was a Christian continent lies behind us. And is not America traveling in the same direction? The problem of tomorrow is not whether Protestantism or Catholicism will survive; but, can the Christian heritage be preserved? Our task in the present situation is to experience the faith in our particular situation, as the Reformers did in theirs, in order to make it real to our contemporaries. The book thus ends with a statement equivalent to a prayer for revival.

IVER IVERSEN

The Christian Church in a Secularized World. By John Lavik. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1952. 153 pages. $2.00.

Dr. Lavik is Professor of Systematic and Practical Theology at Luther Theological Seminary, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada.

In this book the mortal warfare between the secular and the godly is clearly shown. First the author defines the secularized world accurately and pointedly, with enough of its origin to properly appreciate its power. Then he defines the Church and develops the Church's mission, resources, and strategy. The last two-thirds of the book develop selected ramifications of the above in preaching, teaching, the Christian college, ministerial training, and the church in action today.

The book is straight-forward, well written, and refreshingly free from sophisticated scholarship. There is a spirit of evangelism in the book—the kind of evangelism evident in the writings of the Apostle Paul. Clear-cut convictions resulting from sound biblical faith expressed in a logical, convincing arrangement make this book valuable to teachers, pastors, and leaders in the militant church.

To illustrate how firmly the author grasps the problems he discusses consider a few quotations: "If the concept of what is involved in being a saint becomes perverted, the concept of the Church becomes correspondingly perverted." "It is a sad fact that even spiritually minded people may be seriously lacking in a sense of mission. When this lack becomes characteristic of a group or a church, there results a serious perversion."

R. D. LECHLEITNER

Faith and Education. By George A. Buttrick. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1952. 136 pages. $2.00.

American education is under planned attack if we may believe sources of information that are usually reliable. At least there is a barrage of uninformed,

if not prejudiced, talk that runs counter to indisputable facts.

If any American believes in the American public school system, imperfect as it may be, this is the time to stand up and say so. It is not the time to parrot clichés, repeat ready-made slogans, tell anything not supported by objective evidence. More, if anything negative must be said, it might properly be matched with two positives. Those who write on the subject should be preponderantly constructive and, it would seem, use at least some of their space for showing exactly how needed improvements are to be effected and how the agency they represent can help.

Dr. Buttrick believes, "Thou shalt love . . . ," and he thinks the public schools should support that faith. So do the public schoolmen this reviewer knows best! And let it be said that the public school system is not a great robot; instead, it is a group of people, and most of its leaders sit in our pews. Moreover, what those leaders are crying for is a church leadership which shouts, as it honestly can, "Our schools are good schools." Which holds up their hands in their good endeavors under conditions that are growing increasingly difficult. Which cooperates in achieving the self-improvement they, too, crave. Which strives mightily in a full partnership to attain common ends.

To accuse public schools of "expressionisms, factualisms, and methodologies" is to paint an incomplete picture and one more suited to yesteryear. It will almost certainly play into the hands of the vested opponents. Other than that, it can scarcely help anyone.

Dare one suggest the chapters for Dr. Buttrick's next volume and express the hope that it may follow *Faith and Education* promptly?

Chapter One: The priceless heritage we have in our schools; the good they are doing; the irreparable loss to freedom the world will suffer if we do not arise to their need instead of helping along their deterioration under attack.

Chapter Two: The common goals of both public and church schools. How our ideal of "Christian love" is the real meaning in their efforts for "personal and social growth." How both of us may work together to have it become incarnate in all of life.

Chapter Three: The failings of church schools, along with public schools. How utterly inadequate the former are, and perhaps even more tragically infected with intellectualism. What we can do to buttress the public school system by meeting our Christian educational responsibilities.

Chapter Four: An appeal for Christian authors, teachers, and preachers to arouse the people, to help them face the *whole* truth about *all* education, to lead them in steps to accomplish what can be done only with mutual understanding and effort.

Chapters Five through Ten: Ways and means.

RALPH D. HEIM

Die Wandlung im naturwissenschaftlichen Weltbild. By Karl Heim. Hamburg: Furche Verlag, 1951. 271 pages. DM. 12.80.

This is the fifth volume in the series, "Der evangelische Glaube und das Denken der Gegenwart," in which the author means to give "Grundzüge einer christlichen Lebensanschauung." More specifically, it is the second of three concluding volumes which discuss the relation between the Christian faith and the natural sciences. Volume IV presented the basis on which a profitable discussion might take place. Volume V discusses the changes in the picture of the world depicted by contemporary natural science. The sixth and concluding volume will discuss the creation and the end of the world.

The argument of the book is to show how, in the development of modern physics and chemistry, there disappeared, one after the other, the absolute object, abso-

lute time and space, absolute causality, and the absolute distinction between organic life and the inorganic. This is a thoroughly scientific discussion which, no doubt, can stand the scrutiny of the experts in the field. From this factual basis Heim now draws certain conclusions which he believes of apologetic value for the development of a Christian world view. The only absolute that is left is the absolute of the transcendent God who, in a different dimension from all the created world, is lord of all creation and puts his claim upon each individual in his particular, inescapable destiny in time and place.

The question is whether or not this is all to be lightly dismissed by the theologian as philosophical speculation or whether there is not indeed here in the created world and in the developments of science that which may help to lead men to that time and place where they will hear the address of God in his revelation in Christ. To be sure, these developments have been sketched before (e.g., W. H. Werkmeister's Philosophy of Science) and the conclusions drawn have been by no means the Christian affirmations of faith, but this does not permit the theologian to disregard these developments any more than he can disregard the catastrophic events of world history which have also shattered a few false absolutes, without, however, leading men to contrition and faith.

MARTIN J. HEINECKEN

Plikt och Kärlek. Hans Nystedt. Stockholm: Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, 1951. 240 pages. Kr. 12.

This volume is an examination of the relation of the concept of duty to the concept of love in the ethical thinking of Anders Nygren. It is one of the keenest criticisms of Nygren's works on ethics which has been published. I have long sensed that there is a Kantonian influence in much of the theology which has issued from Lund. This fact is evident in the manner in which some of these theologians deal with the problem of truth in religion, or rather in the manner in which they fail to come to grips with the problem altogether. Nystedt holds that the greatest weakness of Nygren's ethics lies in the fact that he relies too heavily upon Kant. Kant taught that the proper estimation of worth is the good will. A good will is good, not because of what it performs or effects, but simply by virtue of the volition. The good will is good in itself. Kant's position gives very little help in the realm of concrete realities or in the realm of duty. The same can be said about Nygren's ethics. Nystedt points out that Nygren does not solve the problem of the relation of the good to the relevant. A bridge must be built between love and duty and it may be that the attitude of some Lundensians to the third use of the law is prompted by the fact that they have not sufficiently struggled with this problem. The style of this book is rather difficult, but the author has given us a very penetrating analysis of Nygren's ethical thinking.

A. D. MATTSON

Theologie der Anfechtung. By Helmut Thielicke. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1949. 270 pages. DM. 14.

Professor Thielicke's work is not a comprehensive dogmatics, as the title might indicate, but rather a collection of more or less related monographs which were previously published in mimeographed form or in various periodicals. The unifying principle in this collection is, according to the author, the question, In what manner is the "natural man" related to grace? ("ob und inwieweit der natürlich sich vorfindende Mensch eine Beziehung zur Gnade besitzt oder ob und inwieweit beide sich im Verhältnis des *totaliter aliter* gegenüberstehen.") Under the auspices of this problem the following articles are presented:

I. What is dogmatics, and why study

it? II. A critique of natural theology. III. The problem of authoritarian thought. IV. The crisis of theology. V. Law and Gospel. VI. Miracle. VII. The problem of "demythologizing" the New Testament. VIII. The limits of intercession. IX. The office of prayer. X. Failure and renewal of the proclamation of the Church. XI. Studies in the anthropology of Marxism. XII. The religious situation in Germany (published originally in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*).

Thus the distinguished professor at the University of Tübingen deals ably with a great many different problems that confront the church today. But perhaps the most important subject discussed in this collection is Bultmann's "demythologization" of Christianity. American theologians will do well to read Thielicke's analysis of Bultmann's efforts, for it seems that in Bultmann's immensely influential writings the virus of philosophical speculation which for a time was successfully controlled by the penicillin of an "existential" theology attacks the church in a more virulent and penicillin-resistant form. It is significant that even Thielicke, in spite of his own critical attitude toward Bultmann, suggests that it is the task of the theologian "to make visible the basic reality which is found behind the mythical shell" (p. 166). This seems to mean that the fundamental distinction between "myth" and "kerygma" which Bultmann makes has been accepted, even though in a far more moderate form.

GEORGE W. FORELL

Outline of a Metaphysics. By Franklin J. Matchette. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. 108 pages. $3.75.

Shades of Hegel (chiefly!), Leibniz, Spinoza, Plotinus, Plato, Democritus! In this little book are reflections of all the "metaphysicians." The only thinker neglected is the simple wise man of Greece, aware of his own ignorance.

If one desires a *reductio ad absurdum* of the attempt of the "metaphysicians" to solve the riddle of existence, here it is. An eminently successful business man, of the laissez-faire era, with the necessary leisure, now turns to philosophy and solves the riddle of life. Is it exactly as the philosophers envisioned it? But *cui bono?* No doubt, the book is closely reasoned and it constitutes an engaging pastime, like chess, provided only it is not taken too seriously. The philosopher builds the castle of his thought and then lives in a hut by its side, caught in the toils of his existence, guilt, dread, envy, hate, meaningless turns of fate, etc., with which his philosophy has not dealt.

How far the conclusions here arrived at are from the biblical revelations may be illustrated: "The original creation, the only genuinely creative act, is precisely the production of the ultimate 'particle,' the Zero-Atomic Unit. It is that created element upon whose existence the existence of the entire realm of the relative rests; in this created element is encompassed the entire story of the universe" (p. 36). In the theory of Polarity—"the essential metaphysical relationship between the Absolute *and* the Zero-Atomic Unit; and a fortiori, between the Absolute and the Relative" (pp. 44-45)—there is clearly demonstrated the difference between this necessary relation between the Absolute (God) and the Relative (the created world) and that God who creates the world in a free act of love (*agape*) and henceforth continues to stand as the sovereign Lord of his creation.

There is an argument, too, to prove the necessary existence of God as first cause. What will we do, then, with Jean Paul Sartre's argument, equally cogent ostensibly, which proves the non-existence of God? Is the existence of God to hand on this battle of the brains? The answer is that neither of them is speaking of that God who is the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose name is love, and whose existence is not to be proved, but whose address in love is to be obeyed.

It is clear from this book why some theologians make a distinction between the personal God, who can never be reduced to a thought and who must be encountered at a time and place, and this God of the philosophers, who crowns their reasoned world-view.

The most precious part of the book is really the introduction, in which a Yale University pundit condescendingly concedes that this unsophisticate has succeeded in making a "contribution of high value," giving "suggestions of very distinctive worth for those who are seeking a world view," in terms, incidentally, of Absolute-Relative, Zero-Atomic Units, Major Dyad, Major Duality, Polarity, Referment-Referend law, etc.

MARTIN J. HEINECKEN

Biblical and Theological Studies. By Benjamin B. Warfield. Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1952. 628 pages. $4.50.

This third volume of reprinted essays from the scholarly pen of the late Dr. Warfield contains a valuable biographical sketch by Samuel G. Craig. The book commends itself for two reasons in particular—on the one hand, for its staunch and able championing of the doctrines of the supernatural, of the incarnation, and of redemption, and, on the other hand, for its candid and clear presentation of Calvinist theology. Dr. Warfield's uncompromising supernaturalism is the more noteworthy because there was a time in his life when he was an enthusiastic and unquestioning disciple of Darwin. It strikes one as almost prophetic when he writes in his day that the last fruits of an unmitigated naturalism may well be atheistic socialism. He will have nothing of a religion that in any way compromises the divine miracle of the incarnation and redemption. While he is no literalist, the Word of God has for him an unchallenged authority as he seeks by every means of sound exegesis to find its true meaning.

He is equally frank in his utterances concerning Calvinism. He holds that all Christians are implicit Calvinists. He accepts the historic five points of Calvinism —total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and perseverance of the saints. Proceeding from the concept of an absolutely deterministic God who brings about conversion in man by the "forced consent" of rational evidence, there is in his theology little of communion with God or of love between man and God; man apprehends the sovereign God because that is the only sensible thing to do. Fortunately his preaching and his personal religion was less severe on that point. While he insists on an unconditional election, he tries to compensate for the harshness of that doctrine by raising the number of the elect. He holds that when Christ says, "Few find the way to life," He is referring to the contemporaneous generation of Jews and not necessarily to humanity of all time. In fact, Warfield insists that we are still the "primitive Church"—a statement that reminds one of a Darwinian timetable—and that we may well look forward to a time when humanity as such will be saved. Here he appropriates a figure of speech from Kuyper: as the leaves and twigs of a tree may fall off and be destroyed while the tree as such survives, so individuals whom God has not elected to salvation may perish, but humanity as such will be saved by virtue of divine election. The predictive statements in Paul's Epistles which might militate against this view are disposed of rather lightly by letting them apply to conditions and events in Paul's own day. Sometimes one marvels at the grim and painful determination with which he carries out the Calvinistic system, but one never questions his personal sincerity and conviction. In this volume, too, a number of sermons by Warfield are added. Even though preached to an academic congregation, these sermons show little of characteristic Calvinist theology. One wonders whether Warfield the preacher and pastor was not after all less of a Cal-

vinist than Warfield the theologian was willing to admit. It is a book that richly repays the reader.

EMIL W. MATZNER

Bible Key Words. From Gerhard Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.* Translated and edited by J. R. Coates. A one-volume edition containing four books: *Love* (xiv, 76 pages), by Gottfried Quell and Ethelbert Stauffer; *The Church* (xii, 75 pages), by Karl Ludwig Schmidt; *Sin* (xii, 96 pages), by Gottfried Quell, Georg Bertram, Gustav Staehlin, and Walter Grundmann; *Righteousness* (xii, 82 pages), by Gottfried Quell and Gottlob Schrenk. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951. $4.00.

For almost two decades many of us have been looking forward eagerly to the time when what has come to be known colloquially as the Kittel *Wörterbuch* will begin to appear in English dress. Launched in 1933 under the brilliant but painstaking editorship of the late Gerhard Kittel (1888-1948), the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament,* which is now more than half completed, has already won a secure place in the annals of biblical scholarship. It has been acclaimed in many lands as the *magnum opus* of the twentieth century in the field of New Testament research. As an editorial achievement it will undoubtedly rank with the monumental enterprises of the late James Hastings in the first two decades of the century, notably the unabridged *Dictionary of the Bible* and the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.*

From time to time, as individual fascicles of the German edition left the presses, enthusiastic reviews have appeared in *The Lutheran Quarterly* and its predecessor journals. Nothing further need be said in these columns concerning the character and scope of the *Wörterbuch.* The present notice will merely serve as an announcement that four of the most significant and extensive articles are now available in English in the form of four books within one cover. The translator wisely selected four articles that are of special interest in view of current trends in the arena of theological discussion and debate.

The translation of a work like the Kittel *Wörterbuch,* in which fine shades of meaning often play a crucial role, is a formidable assignment. It should be undertaken only by scholars who are as much at home in the scientific literature as in the German idiom. Mr. Coates seems exceptionally well qualified on both counts. His translations are quite readable and, in the opinion of the present reviewer, reasonably accurate. He introduces each of the articles with an interesting and informative preface. At appropriate points, chiefly in the footnotes, he adds supplementary material in brackets. In a few cases he includes notes which the authors of the articles supplied expressly for the English edition. On rare occasions he ventures to suggest modifications of positions taken in the German edition. Each of the articles closes with a detailed Index of Words and References. Throughout the volume Hebrew and Aramaic words are transliterated whereas Greek words appear in Greek type.

Many American pastors have made the mistake of assuming that the Kittel *Wörterbuch* is too "technical" for them. Perhaps this convenient translation of four of the leading articles will open their eyes to the gold that is in the *Wörterbuch* for all who are willing to dig for it. Perhaps it will also stimulate the kind of interest that will lead eventually to the publication of the entire *Wörterbuch* in English. It is not only an indispensable tool for professional scholars; it is a treasure trove of insights which the alert pastor can turn to good account in his preaching and teaching. A single hour of serious browsing in the *Wörterbuch* will do more to deepen and vitalize our thinking and our preaching than many hours

of weak-kneed and inglorious leaning on the latest homiletical crutch.

RUSSELL D. SNYDER

In Memoriam Ernst Lohmeyer. Edited by Werner Schmauch. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1951. 376 pages. DM. 22.00.

Ernst Lohmeyer (1890-1946) was a professor of theology at the universities of Breslau and Greifswald and one of Germany's outstanding scholars in the New Testament field. He approached the New Testament with the methods and presuppositions of the liberal-critical school. But, like many others of his generation, he was led to deep and relevant insights which went far beyond the humanistic emphasis of the earlier liberals. He published a number of commentaries on individual books of the New Testament and several monographs on problems from the field of New Testament theology, such as *Johannes der Täufer* (1932), *Galiläa und Jerusalem* (1936), *Kultus und Evangelium* (1942), *Gottesknecht und Davidsohn* (Upsala, 1945), and *Das Vaterunser* (1946). The present volume was prepared by his pupils and colleagues who planned to honor him with it on his 60th birthday. Dr. Lohmeyer's tragic death precluded the realization of this plan. In spite of his earlier active opposition to the National Socialist regime, he was suddenly and inexplicably arrested in 1946, never to be seen again. He is supposed to have suffered death the same year. Thus the present volume became a memorial to him.

Within the space of a brief review it is impossible to do justice to 26 articles by different authors and on the most diverse subjects. Some of the essays offer valuable insights in condensed form. Others parade an immense display of scholarship in order to discuss the most irrelevant and abstruse problems. The following thumbnail sketches may serve as an index of the problems that are touched upon.

The first article *"Mir ist gegeben all Gewalt. Eine Exegese von Matth. 28:16-20"* is by the deceased himself and represents the last chapter of his unfinished and unpublished commentary on Matthew. Lohmeyer tries here to prove that two traditions, a Galilean and a Jerusalemite one, were blended in the last words of Jesus, and attempts to show their respective significance. The distinction and characterization of these two strains of tradition follow other earlier works by the author.

Martin Buber: Das Volksbegehren. This chapter from an unpublished work, "Der Gesalbte," by the great Jewish scholar M. Buber offers a critical and theological analysis of I Samuel 8:4-22.

Leonhard Rost: Alttestamentliche Wurzeln der ersten Auferstehung. Preexilic faith expected the body to return to dust and the spirit to return to Yahveh after death. The *scheol* idea was of Babylonian importation. The Yahvist believer trusted to share in the future glory indirectly through his descendants. The clan as corporate personality would ultimately share in the kingdom to come. But as the clans disintegrated and Ezekiel introduced the thought of individual compensation, the resurrection of the individual became a postulate of faith. Ez. 37 presupposes not the *scheol* idea, but the Yahvist understanding of man as flesh plus spirit. Here is also the earliest basis for the idea of a "first resurrection" (Rev. 20:3-6; Mt. 27:52 f.): the righteous preceding common humanity. Rost finds this idea also in Dan. 12:2 f. and Isaiah 26:19; 66:22 f.

Sherman E. Johnson: Jesus and First-Century Galilee examines the possible influence that the religious-political surroundings had on Jesus. The conditions in first-century Galilee help to elucidate the problems and controversies in which he was involved, but they contribute nothing to explain the core of his message.

Anders Nygren: Christus, der Gnadenstuhl. The Greek word "hilasterion" in Rom. 3:25 must be translated "mercy seat."

Otto Michel: Opferbereitschaft fuer Israel. An exegesis of Rom. 9:1-3.

Karl Ludwig Schmidt: Nicht über das hinaus, was geschrieben steht. A sermon on I Cor. 4:6, about the value of Bible study.

R. H. Lightfoot: A Consideration of three passages in St. Mark's Gospel. The three passages are Mark 1:35-39; 6:42-52, and 14:26-42. They portray Jesus' retreat for prayer in three different crucial situations, and show that nothing short of his death and resurrection would gain the sympathetic understanding of his disciples.

Günther Bornkamm: Die Verzögerung der Parusie. Exegetische Bemerkung zu zwei synoptischen Texten. Mark 9:1 and Matt. 25:1-13 are words formed by the early church (Gemeindebildungen). They show how the church interpreted the postponement of the parusia. Mark 9:1 expounds the same thought as I Cor. 15:51; I Thess. 4:15: The exact date of the parusia is not too important. All Christians will participate, although some will be alive, while others will have died earlier. Matt. 25:1 belongs with II Thess. and is directed against people who have ceased to look for the parusia because of its delay. The details of this parable must be explained not from contemporary wedding customs, but from its theological premises.

Oscar Cullmann: Sabbat und Sonntag nach dem Johannesevangelium. Jesus' death and resurrection brings God's work of redemption to an end. Therewith the Sabbath is being fulfilled and thus made obsolete in the same way as the temple cult passes with the sacrifice of Christ.

Johannes Schneider: Zur Frage der Komposition von Joh. 6:27-58(59) (Die Himmelsbrotrede). Against Bultmann's exegesis of the chapter, Schneider tries to show that it is not necessary to regroup the text. Its peculiar composition can be explained from the purpose and whole philosophy of the Fourth Gospel.

Helmut Gollwitzer: Zur Auslegung von Joh. 6 bei Luther und Zwingli. Zwingli's exegesis of John 6 was conditioned by idealistic-philosophical premises. Luther could better appreciate the meaning of this text because he did not allow the Word of God to overshadow his work. But he confirmed Zwingli in his error by veering in the direction of a naturalistic understanding and by emphasizing a divine substance rather than the incarnation. Zwingli's claim that John 6 speaks of the Lord's Supper has also been upheld by modern New Testament scholarship. Luther's followers would have done well to appreciate the theological progress from Zwingli to Calvin instead of using the same arguments against both.

Gottfried Fitzer: Sakrament und Wunder im Neuen Testament. Eine Betrachtung zu Ernst Lohmeyer's Deutung des Brotwunders. In Jesus' healings the physical cure was "accompanied" by the impartation of salvation, forgiveness of sins, and fellowship with him. The cure was performed not for its own value, but as a sign. These and other elements connect Jesus' miracles with the sacraments.

Rudolf Bultmann: Die kirchliche Redaktion des ersten Johannesbriefes. Bultmann seeks to prove that the First Epistle of John ended originally with 5:13. The remaining verses of chapter 5 were added by someone else. He detects interpolations also in other verses which imply the Jewish-Early-Christian eschatology, such as 2:28; 3:2; 4:17, or which teach the expiation by Jesus' blood, such as 1:7b; 2:2; 4:10b. All these changes are supposed to have been made in the interest of official ecclesiastical doctrines.

Werner Schmauch: In der Wüste. Beobachtungen zur Raumbeziehung des Glaubens im Neuen Testament. The author takes 20 pages to prove that the desert as such has no theological connotation in the New Testament.

Erik Esking: Das Martyrium als theologisch-exegetisches Problem. A discussion of Strathmann's and Lohmeyer's essays concerning the Christian martyr.

Gerhard Sass: Die Apostel in der Didache. The author compares the wider and narrower usage of the term "apostle,"

referring either to a free missionary or to one of the twelve, and concludes that the former use of the word reflects Galilean, and the latter Judean, custom.

Hans von Campenhausen: Lehrerreihen und Bischofsreihen im 2. Jahrhundert. In the Jewish world oral traditions were guaranteed by chains of successive teachers and students. The New Testament knows similar "traditions," but the early gentile church failed to develop the thought of tradition and succession. The impulse in this direction came from without. Following the example of heathen philosophical schools, the Gnostics alleged the possession of secret traditions which they traced to the apostles or their pupils. The task of refuting these constructions prompted Hegesippus and Irenaeus to establish the apostolic succession of the teachers and teachings of the church. They were concerned not with hierarchical claims, but with the defense of the truth. However, their argument was bolstered by the fact that the teachers whose authority they claimed, were at the same time bishops of the church, i.e., bearers of an ecclesiastical office.

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy: Vivit Deus. The translation "Vivat Deus," instead of "Vivit Deus," in the new Latin translation of the Psalms, sanctioned by the pope in 1945 (Psalm 18:46) is essentially blasphemous and heathenish. For the Christian faith, it is basic that we must share in God's life, not he in ours, and that we can properly speak of God only in trinitarian formulas.

Joachim Konrad: Moralismus und Nihilismus. Zu einem seherischen Wort Friedrich Nietzsches. Christian morality cannot be restored except on the basis of Christian faith.

Karl Peters: Die religiösen Kräfte in der Jugendfürsorge. A discussion of the legal and religious tasks and possibilities of Christian social work among youth in present-day Germany.

Hartmuth Lohmeyer: Grundfragen des Städtebaues. A contribution by Prof. Lohmeyer's son, urging decentralization in the building of cities.

Clemens Schaefer: Die Problematik der modernen Physik.

Erwin Fues: Physik und Glaube. Ein Brief an einen Theologen. Two articles on the changed outlook of modern science, the second with special reference to the Christian faith.

Heinrich Vogel: Die Menschenrechte als theologisches Problem. The author finds the limit, but also the only firm basis, for the "Rights of Man" in the justification of the sinner by Jesus Christ. Under the cross we cannot claim any possible rights of our own, but receive rights by grace. The church should therefore be on the alert whenever these rights are violated. On the other hand it should not concern itself with drawing up charters of human rights, such as the one prepared by the United Nations.

Ernst Wolf: Christlicher Humanismus?" Erwägungen zur gegenwärtigen Diskussion. The author, writing from the viewpoint of Reformation theology, puts some incisive question marks behind the term "Christian humanism" but remains rather vague in his description of that sort of humanism which has been purged of every trace of human *hybris*.

ULRICH S. LEUPOLD

Jesus and the Hidden Bible. By Joseph Hayyim Krimsky. New York: Philosophical Library, 1951. 81 pages. $2.75.

The Hidden Bible is the Apocrypha, and the author's Jesus, a Galilean prophet, stripped of "the legends of a supernatural conception . . . and a miraculous virgin birth" (p. 3), who performed miracles by faith-healing of psychic ailments, the power of suggestion, and mass hypnosis (pp. 44 f.).

The author seeks to show that this "Jesus, a child of his people, appeared on earth not only to fulfill the Law and the Prophets but also to accomplish . . . [the] redemptive mission of the Son of Man, . . . as foretold and envisioned in the

Apocryphal books" (p. viii). As such, the volume is "A Study of Gospel Sources" in the books that lie between the Testaments.

Though few will say with Krimsky that "no student of the Bible is worth his salt unless he is as well versed in these Hidden Writings as he is in the sanctified Canonical Books" (p. 50), the influence of the Apocryphal writings on the New Testament is considerable—e.g., the Son of Man theme, the Day of Judgment, heaven and hell, and angelology and demonology.

Krimsky is at his best in citing parallels in Ecclesiasticus for the sayings of Jesus and in finding apocryphal backgrounds for the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. He also sees influence from the Hidden Books in Jesus' recognition of himself as the Suffering Servant and his acceptance of the pangs of the Messiah.

Not all, however, will be satisfied with the portrait of Jesus or the un-Pauline concept of sin (p. 11). Too often there are generalizations or doubtful assertions without any documentation. Though the author frequently takes positions of advanced biblical criticism, he speaks of Paul as writer of Hebrews. Most unfortunate is the almost total omission of chapter and verse identification for the extensive Apocryphal quotations; usually not even the book is noted!

A good treatment of Apocryphal influence on Jesus and the New Testament is desirable, but this volume does not supply the need. The casual Bible student will be more confused than edified, and the scholar will find little that has not been said before.

JOHN REUMANN

Sermons From Job. By John Calvin. Selected and translated by Leroy Nixon. Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1952. 300 pages. $4.50.

Inasmuch as John Calvin thought of himself primarily as a preacher rather than as a teacher, it is proper that increasing attention should be given to his sermons. This volume of 20 sermons, selected from the series of 159 which Calvin preached on the book of Job and translated into acceptable English is therefore welcome. Calvin's preaching was expository rather than topical, didactic rather than hortatory, conversational rather than rhetorical, sober rather than sensational, extemporaneous rather than formal. He believed that "the Holy Spirit has dictated this book" (i.e., Job) and interpreted its meaning in terms of Job's pleading a good cause poorly and his adversaries' pleading a poor cause well.

Toward Undiscovered Ends. By Anne Brinton. Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill, 1951. Paper, 48 pages. 35 cents.

An illuminating review of Quaker contacts with Russia, from George Fox's letter to the czar in 1656 to the mission to Moscow in 1951, is here presented. A succession of individual Quakers made their way to Russia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to bear testimony to their faith, urge peace, introduce social reforms, and engage in relief. Better known are the relief mission during and after World War I and the peace mission after World War II. Mrs. Brinton has given us a useful as well as interesting account of relations which have become increasingly important in our time.

Die Geschichte des Christentums. By Johannes von Walter. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1950. 1,050 pages. DM. 28.

Beginning with the Counter-Reformation and ending with the period of time just before the outbreak of World War II, this work constitutes the third edition of Walter's second volume on the history of Christianity. Volume I appeared in 1934.

The two volumes together represent the fruit of a life-long study in the history of Christianity on the part of the author.

Beginning his academic career as a professor of Church History in Göttingen in 1901, he received appointments thereafter in his chosen field to the University of Breslau in 1909, the University of Vienna in 1917, and the University of Rostock in 1921. He continued to lecture at the latter until his death in 1940.

In writing his history Walter studiously avoided a type of organization of contents which would make it an easy reference book, or a "handbook," nor did he divide his material into a series of main headings and sub-headings. Obviously he wants the student of church history to read his book, not to scan it or "page through it!" It is his aim to focus attention upon the total development of Christianity, for only thus he believes can the perspectives of history sharpen understanding and lead to balanced judgment.

But this does not mean that it is the task of the church historian merely to record with scientific faithfulness "what happened." There is a driving force in the history of Christianity. According to Walter, the history of piety (Frömmigkeitsgeschichte) is the heart of the historical development of the church. While piety is the most important factor, it is not the only one which determines the course of church history. Like a counter-current, events in "secular" history must be reflected in the organization of materials in the history of Christian piety.

Because the author carries out this purpose with the consistency of a mature historian, the flow of Christian piety is not "forced" into a single channel. Church history is not seen simply in the category of "missions." It is not viewed exclusively from the point of view of the influence of environment on Christianity and the influence of Christianity on environment. The course which the stream of Christian history takes is not determined solely by the struggle between church and world, or good and evil. All of these determining influences and many others come under the purview of the author, yet in such a way that his work forms an essential unity. The achievement of unity is not accomplished through forcing certain "facts" into a preconceived scheme but through discovering and seeing the interrelationship which exists between persons, thought, and movements in the course of history.

Nor does the author limit himself to a history of Christianity in Europe: East and West, North and South are considered. While this reviewer is not in a position to test the accuracy of historical facts in all of the various countries referred to, it was rather a shock to learn that half of the population of the Dominion of Canada was still pagan in 1938! And Protestant immigration on a permanent basis certainly began before 1763. There were even some Lutherans in Acadia by 1750 or 1751. Very likely the beginnings of Protestant Christianity go back as far as 1690.

And since we have crossed the Atlantic it might be appropriate to note at this point that the development of Christianity in America, and even more so of Lutheranism, receives comparatively little attention. Walter is at his best when he is discussing the history of Christianity in the Central European countries. Even though this historical work was not completed until 1938, and the author himself is a German, there is no reference to the church struggle which raged during the time of Hitler. This is most disappointing, for the author would have been quite capable of placing this phase of recent church history in its proper perspective. But if he had done so, perhaps his book would not have been printed!

While the book is unusually long—more than a thousand pages plus a detailed index—it is most pleasant reading. The author is a master of his native tongue. Referring to the singing of the Lutheran choral during the Reformation he says: "Wie hätte in der Reformationszeit die Gemeinde zu singen gewusst! Es ist, als zöge ein riesiger Haufen dem

Feinde entgegen und stärke sich in gemeinsamem Gesange zum Kampfe!" Nor is this tome devoid of the kind of humor by which its author makes the reader smile at history, especially in the analysis of the struggle between Orthodoxy and Pietism in the 17th and 18th centuries.

H. T. LEHMANN

The Lutheran Reformation and the Jews. The Birth of the Protestant Jewish Missions. By Armas K. E. Holmio. Hancock, Mich.: Finnish Lutheran Book Concern, 1949. 218 pages. $3.00.

Dr. Holmio, professor in the Suomi College and Seminary at Hancock, Mich., has written this Reformation study out of a broader interest in the history of missions. He has the dual purpose of asserting that "a Protestant Jewish mission arose during the time of the Lutheran Reformation and out of its activities," and that therefore "it is an injustice to nascent Protestantism to characterize it as wholly devoid of concern for the presentation of the Gospel to non-Christians."

The author cuts some good figures of history-writing while skating on the somewhat thin ice of his thesis. He shows that the topic of Jewish missions has not been integrated into mission histories (though he ignores Latourette, who is not subject to this criticism). Next he sketches the medieval Catholic background predominantly as an attitude of persecution, whether more or less violent, with or without missionary intentions. An excellent chapter follows, on the Reuchlin affair and the Humanist plea for tolerance.

Three chapters capably present the Lutheran Reformation and Luther's early attitude, as a direct continuation of the Humanist liberal policy. Holmio hails Luther's tract of 1523, *Das Jhesus Christus eyn geborner Jude sey,* as the "beginning proper of evangelical Jewish missions," describes its practical outcomes particularly in Hesse and Brandenburg, and discusses the missionary ideas involved.

Finally, the author analyzes the "reaction" in Luther's attitude, beginning in 1536. He asserts that Luther was too religious to have changed because of personal motives; but then he finds the main cause of the reaction in Luther's religious zeal against the stiffnecked Jews' false beliefs, blasphemy of Christ, and perversion of Scripture. Coupled with this are "national" reasons—his acceptance of exaggerated tales of Jewish usury and complicity with the Turks. But while regretting Luther's lapse into the medieval attitude, Holmio defends Luther stalwartly: the crudity of the 1543 tracts is common parlance; these writings still are to be interpreted as having a missionary motive; and the extent of the "reaction" must not be exaggerated. He points out that Luther was criticized by other reformers, that no general persecutions arose in Lutheran lands, and that Jewish leaders themselves were not overly concerned about the reaction. Luther simply was no longer the center of the Reformation. Sebastian Münster's labors are described as a continuation of the earlier ideal.

This overall portrait is good, painted with many a skillful touch; it is unfortunately marred by whitewash in the pigments. Luther's vehemence and his vulgarity cannot be explained away. Again, Roman Catholicism is not simply a foil for Luther's achievement; Paul III and Loyola are mentioned only once, Philip Neri not at all. A further comparison of sixteenth century Protestant and Roman missionary efforts among the Jews, and a demonstration of subsequent continuity in Protestant endeavor, would make more convincing the claim that Luther's work was the birth of Protestant missions.

Some corrections may be noted. The early Luther did not treat the Jewish question in a "coldly theological" way. He did relegate "heretics, Jews, and observant monks" to the same level, i.e., judaizers and proud men; but in 1514 he

recommended not war and contention but gentleness toward heretics: give them milk and they will fall asleep (W. A., 3, 636). In 1516 he pondered the ultimate conversion of Israel (56, 436 ff.: Romans 11). Nor did he ignore the Reuchlin controversy; in 1516 he scathingly attacked Reuchlin's enemies (56, 302, 436, 461).

A few printing corrections: the Reuchlin investigator's name is Truchsess (p. 52); the book title is *Capnion sive de verbo mirifico* (p. 45); Grimani's name is Domenico (p. 54). Capistrano was an Observant Franciscan not a Capuchin (p. 33).

ROBERT H. FISCHER

Religion, Healing and Health. By James Dale Van Buskirk. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. 153 pages. $2.50.

This book is written for the "non-professional reader." Compared with many of the books on related subjects it is easy reading. This makes it valuable for those pastors who have but a meager acquaintance with its field. Those who cannot or will not eat the heavier meal of Weatherhead's *Psychology, Religion and Healing* and like volumes will find this a nourishing snack. It is a book which can be given to the average person for profitable reading.

In the 153 pages basic facts of psychosomatic medicine and illness, a critical appraisal of faith healing and the cults, a digest of the history of the Church and healing ministries, and the Christian religion's curative powers and resources for health are presented effectively. The testimony to the value of corporate worship, prayer, faith, forgiveness, and the practice of the presence of God is strong and helpful.

The book is to be commended for its insistence that the Christian religion has a vital relation to mental and physical health and for its clear statement of that relation. Religion is not presented simply as a tool in the kit of the practitioner on mind and body. Here is a contribution toward the proper Christian perspective in which to view such emphases as "Peace of mind." The author asserts throughout the final inadequacy of a philosophy of life and the adequacy of the Christian faith and its faults.

The author is a medical doctor, an ordained Methodist minister, and a student of psychology and psychosomatic medicine. He was a medical missionary in Korea for twenty-three years and has served as a pastor. His personal faith, experience, and knowledge enrich the work and qualify him for it.

ALBERT H. KECK, JR.

Psychiatry for Social Workers. By Lawson G. Lowrey. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Second edition. 385 pages. $4.50.

This text will undoubtedly replace the briefer, more elementary *Handbook of Psychiatry for Social Workers* by Lichtenstein and Small that appeared more than a decade ago. While Dr. Lowrey does not address himself primarily to clergymen, his book should find a place in the working library of every pastor who is engaged in parish work. By an ingenious arrangement of his material, the author makes it possible to cover every phase of mental ill health that a pastor is ever likely to encounter in his ministry. We are told not only about the fully developed mental illnesses but also about those forms of "problematical" behavior, alcoholism, moral irresponsibility, anxieties, guilt feelings, and marital misunderstandings that are so frequently brought to the attention of every pastor.

Because Dr. Lowrey writes for members of allied professions, he escapes the necessity of "writing down" to his readers; his data are not distorted by the need to oversimplify extremely intricate and complex processes. On the other hand, he remains mindful of the fact that he is not writing a textbook for psychiatrists who are already conversant with the subject.

He takes time to describe in great detail how mental patients feel, act, reason. He differentiates carefully between "irreversible" disease processes, which destroy the personality so extensively that the individual can never be restored to his former self, and the more benign ailments in which recovery or, at least, material improvement may reasonably be expected.

Here is no uncritical glorification of psychiatry as a "cure-all" for the emotional and social ills of mankind. The reader is told very frankly that the cause for about half of all mental illnesses is still in doubt, and that many morbid mental processes, whose psychology is fairly well understood, defy all present methods of treatment.

There is, however, cause for guarded optimism. Electro-shock, chemo-therapy, and neuro-surgery have greatly advanced therapeutic possibilities. But the most important single weapon in the conquest of mental disease is the better understanding of psychic processes which has been gained since the First World War.

Because mental processes relate to the total environment of the individual, his family, his social milieu, his adaptation to a moral and spiritual world order, they concern not only the medical specialist but the members of all professions which have to deal with human growth, teachers, social workers, clergymen.

Dr. Lowrey interprets the development of the psyche essentially in Freudian terms. The reader must decide for himself how far he is ready to accept this interpretation of facts. Even if he disagrees, he can learn a great many facts from Dr. Lowrey and he will at least understand by what reasoning the followers of Freud have arrived at their conclusions. But there is something much more important than facts and theories that a thoughtful theological reader will gain from the perusal of this book. It will become obvious to him that we must understand and respect an individual, however unlovely he may be, before we can help him. We can learn something of the "zeal for souls," lost and strayed souls, that characterizes every good psychiatrist. It is true that it is a secularized zeal, as psychiatry itself is a secularized "cure of souls," but the motivation to relieve mental anguish is the same for pastor and psychiatrist. If psychiatrists spare no effort to understand their patients, "to feel themselves into them" (empathy), shepherds of souls must be willing to do at least that much. Dr. Lowrey's statement that "a most common and frustrating experience of many patients is the difficulty to find some one who is interested and takes time to listen intelligently and with understanding to the story of their difficulties" is a severe indictment of the callousness of modern society.

Here is a book that was not written for pastors but cannot fail to make a better pastor of every clerical reader.

CARL J. SCHINDLER

Keys to Richer Living. By Lewis L. Dunnington. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. 136 pages. $2.00.

This book contains twenty-four sermons delivered by a Methodist preacher to large crowds in Iowa City, Iowa, the home of the state university. The author has had unusual response in counseling experiences as well as in attendances. The book is therefore heralded by the publishers as a "must" which "provides an excellent example for other ministers who want to have standing room only in their churches."

That this is popular preaching cannot be questioned. Many of the subjects are variations on today's popular themes of "Relax" and "Peace of mind." Others sound the ever welcome note of comfort. A few face the problems of reconciling the Christian faith with reason and the unsettling of conviction which often attend higher education.

The prolific use of illustrations also adds to the popularity of this preaching. Indeed, the book is like an anthology of

illustrative materials. These reveal a keen awareness and wide knowledge of facts and folks. The number of illustrations, however, detracts from its merits as a book of sermons. There are too many. Some sermons are simply stacks or strings of illustrations.

A greater weakness of these sermons is the lack of the proclamation of the Word of God. This is evidenced in the failure to set forth the Scriptures and the failure to interpret the Scriptures properly.

In the author's introduction he declares the need and blessing of hearing, through the chaos of these days, the "still small voice of the Man of Galilee." These sermons purport to sound that voice but it is still and small, indeed. In some cases it is not there at all.

The use of texts and the exposition of texts are, of course, no guarantee that the Word is being proclaimed, nor is lack of the same necessarily an evidence of failure to proclaim that Word. But the paucity of Scripture in some sermons, the casual use of it without any true exegesis, the lack of any mention of Christ and his mind in some instances, and the common equalization of the experience and mind of assorted humanity with the Christian revelation combine to obscure or eliminate the impact of the Word.

For example, the first sermon deals with the relation of physical health to mental health and pleads for vitamins in the soil and in our diet. It is supposedly brought together religiously under I Samuel 25:29. The second sermon, "The Raw Materials of Life," asserts that no matter what raw materials we are given, we can make a good life if we only believe we can. There is no text, no Scripture, no mention of Christ. In a sermon on the death of loved ones there is a brief reference to the comfort which issues from faith in a good God, but no Scripture and no text except the words of a father whose son died. There are sermons in which Scripture is used, but in too many it is missing or only incidentally mentioned.

Most Lutherans will regret the shallowness or error of many statements in the sermons. A Christian sermon insists that the real meaning of Christmas is "other-mindedness," and no mention is made of the incarnation. As an illustration of "the sin against the future" (in this case the refusal to examine our childhood faith in the interest of more mature conceptions), the author stresses the unimportance of belief in the virgin birth. He says that the Bible allows you to prove or disprove the fact—take your choice. In a sermon on forgiveness Judas ends up in "Paradise" with the repentant thief and Christ. In one of the few references to the death of Christ the essence of its significance is stated thus: "The shedding of Jesus' blood was a symbol of life outpoured in love."

There are some homiletical virtues in these sermons: freshness, directness of language, variety of materials, clarity. But this is not preaching as we understand it and surely not preaching at its best. Its popularity only reveals something about the needs of the minds of preachers and listeners.

ALBERT H. KECK, JR.

Biblical Texts. By Paul W. Nesper. Revised edition. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1952. 442 pages. $3.95.

In 1923 Paul W. Nesper compiled a reference work of biblical texts for the preacher which he based on C. Römer's *Textbook für Prediger.* This is a revised and expanded edition of the same work. It contains texts for such special occasions as baptisms, confirmations, communions, funerals of various kinds, ordinations, installations, dedications, graduations and other secular observances, church festivals, and occasions for the presentation of missionary causes. In addition, the book lists texts, with suggestion of topics, for Sundays and festivals of the church year according to the following series: "Historic," Nitsch, Saxon, Hamburg, Württemberg, Thomasius,

Hannover, Sweden, Eisenach, Synodical Conference, Lenski, Ranke, Fendt-Liefeld-Owens, and Soll. It deserves to be noticed that the last four series, with their fresh suggestions, are relatively recent and therefore generally unknown. Indexes according to the church year and according to books of the Bible add to the reference value of the book.

Quotations and Illustrations for Sermons. Compiled by F. F. Selle and Ewald Plass. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1952. 496 pages. $4.50.

Originally published in 1935 as a volume in the series of the "Concordia Pulpit" and now reprinted, this sturdy book presents apothegms, similes, metaphors, sayings, anecdotes, poems, and biblical references under about 250 topics ranging from absolution and affliction to youth and zeal. Preachers from Chrysostom to Moody and non-preachers from Homer to Thomas Edison are drawn upon. Among those who find books of sermon illustrations useful, this collection has already won many friends.

The Cross Is Urgent. By G. S. Thompson. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1952. 117 pages. $1.50.

Pastor Thompson is a "workman that needeth not to be ashamed," a craftsman who accomplishes that whereto, in this Lenten sermon series, he sends God's Word. Reading the volume one's conviction grows that the cross *is* urgent. The series is well named, and the hewing is straight to the line.

Seven sermons proclaim the theme: "A . . . World Needs the Cross," and the blanks are filled in with Bewildered, Frightened, Ailing, Toiling, Indifferent, Selfish, and Doomed. In similar vein the Easter sermon insists that "A Redeemed Church Still Needs the Cross." This diagnosis alone is well worth the price of the book. An honest and able insight has depicted, almost exhaustively, the backdrop against which the curtain rises on the second half of the twentieth century.

The work skillfully combines the timely and the timeless. The prose is facile, with the clarity and force of the vernacular. Every theme roots naturally, indissociably, in its texts, and the texts all root plainly in the Lenten theme. The illustrations are unforced and illustrative. Lutherans will welcome the clear evangelical note.

At the risk of some inconsistency it might be said that the author's skill at diagnosis exceeds, somewhat, his skill at prescription. It may be the charge against all preaching that it can say what's wrong more vividly than it can say what to do about it. Analysis may always be less difficult than synthesis. But with faith added to these several Cross-prescriptions, this preaching truly becomes "Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God."

PAUL T. WARFIELD

The Cross for Every Day. By Richard R. Caemmerer and Jaroslav J. Pelikan. St. Louis: Concordia, 1952. 113 pages. $1.50.

Two groups of six Lenten sermons and two Good Friday meditations, each based on the seven words from the cross, comprise this volume.

The first series, "Christ's Death Is Our Life," subdivides: His Death: Rescues from God's Wrath, Redeems from Sin, Saves for Righteous Living, Moves to Love for Others, Builds the Church, Keeps Us with God. The seven words from the cross are termed "Seven Words of Forgiveness."

Lutherans will find no fault with the theology.

The second sentence of the fifth sermon is: "One of you told me yesterday that last week's sermon seemed to be more practical than the preceding ones." The appraisal is generous: the practicality is by way of comparison only. The preaching technique, almost solely, is New Testament quotation, literal and paraphrase; a kind of proof-texting, with one

text's main function, seemingly, the validation of another. The prose plods, unimaginatively. The clearest implication is that the cross's proper milieu is the first-century Roman world. The texts differ, and the sermon themes: the content is incredibly indistinguishable. Truth, even *the* Truth, becomes trite, if not tedious. Here is fodder for the broadening contemporary judgment that Christ is irrelevant.

The second series, "Human Problems and the Lenten Lord," makes avowed intention of utilizing the practical potential in Lenten observance. In this it achieves a measure of success. The themes, prosaically phrased, deal with: the problem of evil; victory over evil; success versus suffering service; life wins over death; and, somewhat less than germane to the basic truth of the cross, with marital love and Christ's love, and with an interesting, if somewhat ambiguous, distinction between peace of mind and the peace of God. If peace of mind had not been identified, in effect, with undiscerning self-satisfaction, or pride, the series would have reached its peak in this one.

Lutheran pastors will find help in this series. Its unmistakable solidity escapes stolidity, and the Cross stands foursquare on every contemporary mainstreet. An illustration or two, more homely than Shakespeare, would have helped.

The Good Friday meditation, "Seven Words for the Church," is good.

PAUL T. WARFIELD

Interpreting the Church through Press and Radio. By Ronald E. Wolseley. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1951. 352 pages. $3.75.

Your reviewer should have had this book long ago when he entered the ministry. It would have saved much groping, much searching for information, techniques, samples of effective layouts, and all the other items which are involved in the many types of church publicity. Here, at last, is a book which covers the whole field comprehensively ("like a tent," says one of my friends). This can best be appreciated by glancing at the table of contents: What is to be Interpreted? Organizing for Interpretation. The Media. Religion in the General Press. Church Journalism on the Air. Religion in the Syndicates. Denominational Publications as Interpreters. Parish Publications. Church Bulletins. Miscellaneous Printed Materials. The Tools of Interpretation. The Churchman as Reporter. The Churchman as News Writer. The Churchman as Feature and Article Writer. Advertising the Church. Editing the Materials.

Then there are five appendices: A Press Chairman's Manual. A Public Relations Program in Outline. Style Sheet. Press and Radio Glossary. A Booklist for the Church Journalist.

The author, Roland E. Wolseley, is professor of Journalism at Syracuse University. He writes, therefore, from the point of view of the technical expert. Sometimes he sounds as though the ordinary editor, without university training, could not possibly function effectively. Probably he doesn't mean this. He points out besetting sins in various types of church news organs, and offers good advice with regard to more acceptable practice. While the book contains much material which the average clergyman will not need, it gives real information and insight into those particular areas of church publication in which the individual may be especially interested. In short, every pastor and writer will get something—and often a great deal—out of this book. Here he will find theory, advice, illustrations of what to do, and even the symbols used in correcting the proof.

ALBERT A. JAGNOW

CONTRIBUTORS

Bishop Eivind Berggrav of Norway, who led his Church during the German Occupation of his land, delivered this address at the Lutheran World Federation meeting at Hannover, August, 1952.

Edwin T. Greninger has taught at Valparaiso University and Pennsylvania State College, and is doing research work at the University of Pennsylvania.

Martin J. Heinecken is professor of systematic theology at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa.

E. E. Ryden is editor of *The Lutheran Companion,* and secretary of the Joint Commission preparing the new Lutheran Hymnal.

A. J. Traver is professor of practical theology at Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio.

Victor E. Beck is pastor of the Gustavus Adolphus Lutheran Church, New York City.

Ronald M. Hals, a graduate of Capital University Seminary, is pursuing advance studies at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Among the contributors to this number are Russell D. Snyder, Professor of the New Testament in the Philadelphia Seminary; Edward C. Fendt, Dean of the Theological Seminary at Capital University, Columbus, Ohio; Martin J. Heinecken, Professor of Systematic Theology in the Philadelphia Seminary; Iver Iversen, Professor of Church History in Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul; Ralph D. Heim, Professor of Christian Education in the Gettysburg Seminary; Alvin D. Mattson, Professor of Christian Ethics in Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Ill.; George W. Forell, Professor of Philosophy and Religion in Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn.; Emil W. Matzner, Professor of Systematic Theology in Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa; John H. P. Reumann, Instructor in Bible in the Philadelphia Seminary; Helmuth T. Lehmann, President of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Canada, Waterloo, Ontario; Robert H. Fischer, Professor of Church History in the Chicago Seminary, Maywood, Ill.; Albert H. Keck, Jr., Professor of Practical Theology in the Southern Seminary, Columbia, S. C.; Paul T. Warfield, Pastor of St. Mark's Church, Trenton, N. J.; Albert A. Jagnow, Professor of Liturgics in Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa.

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Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois

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Capital University Seminary, Columbus, Ohio

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